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PROFESSOR CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D., D.Litt.

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Editorial

FAITH AND THE SCIENTIFIC MIND

The progress of science, but even more the spread and development of the scientific spirit, are constantly forcing upon religion new and difficult questions and constantly raising anew the question whether faith and the scientific mind can live together. If not it will soon come to pass that between the intellectual forces of the world and the religion of the world there will be a great gulf fixed over which none will pass from either side. On the one hand, from the attitude of mind which science has created there will be no retreat but only advance; and on the other, the human heart's need of religion makes it certain that however it may change its form religion will never die. The only question is whether religion and science will live together or dwell apart in separate and hostile camps.

Let it be laid down in the first place that faith and the scientific spirit will not dwell together by virtue of skilfully framed compromises. A scientific man may confine himself so far as his science is concerned to chemistry and physics, and maintain undisturbed his allegiance to an inherited creed, unaware of any conflict between them. But while this may happen in an individual case, it cannot be true in the large. The scientific spirit is not a thing that belongs to the realm of so-called science in the narrower sense. It is an attitude of mind that once fully adopted inevitably concerns itself with every phase of life and thought. And faith is not less inclusive in its scope. The unthinking or narrow-minded man may define his faith as consisting in his acceptance of certain propositions that have to do with one side of his life. But if he ever

escapes from the narrowness of his life, intellectually or religiously, he will discover that his faith must concern itself with the whole range of his thought and life. Not only does the scientific spirit, when once it possesses a man, pervade every aspect of that life; faith also is like leaven and leavens the whole life.

It must be evident therefore that the scientific spirit cannot live with a faith that is defined in terms of fixed creed and authority. If one's faith means the steadfast maintenance of beliefs because and only because they are held and proclaimed by the church or any branch of it, then the coming of the scientific mind means the going out of faith. For the scientific spirit means that one resolutely faces all the facts and as resolutely accepts the legitimate deductions from those facts, and such a spirit is in direct conflict with the acceptance of dogmas on authority.

But it must be admitted not only that the scientific spirit involves the acceptance of a principle which is in conflict with that of authoritative tradition; it usually means also the actual discovery of errors in those beliefs that have been traditionally held. The historical study of the last century, which has come more and more under the domination of the genuinely scientific spirit and has therefore more and more resolutely sought to face all the facts, has unquestionably compelled the abandonment of many old opinions and made not a few others impossible any longer of confident affirmation. True, many hypotheses have been put forward only to be abandoned, and many that now enjoy a certain favor with scholars may prove untenable. But it cannot be denied that in many matters hypothesis has been the stepping-stone to a certainty far more certain than anything that preceded the hypothesis. We have changed, we must change, many of the beliefs that were once held respecting the way in which the world came to be, the origin of the race, the development of the Old Testament religion, the authority of prophets and apostles.

It is not strange then that many ask with concern, How far is this process to go, and what is to be its outcome? For it is not in the realm of historical fact only that the scientific mind becomes tangent with the realm of faith. We may surrender the historicity of the story of Jonah; we may consent to the multiple authorship

of the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah; we may come to admit the existence of unhistorical elements in the gospels and of doctrinal misapprehensions in Paul. But we shall also have to face the question of the immortality of the soul, the nature of the soul itself, and even of the basis and security of our belief in God. The child takes—and ought to take—many things on testimony. But the scientific mind puts away childish things, and little by little, but relentlessly, demands the ground of every assertion. Does its prevalence then mean an all-inclusive agnosticism in religion?

Two answers are to be made to this question, for our religious faith concerns itself with two distinguishable fields of thought. In the one, science is possible; the other is beyond the reach of science in the exact sense of the word. The boundary between these two fields is not the same for all persons, or for all periods. It is constantly changing with the progress of science. But it always exists.

First, then, as concerns the sphere in which science is possible, it must be recognized that all knowledge consists of verified hypotheses. Nothing is known directly. In every realm we accept that which accredits itself by the fact that it corresponds to and explains experience and that its acceptance makes for the harmonious development of experience. Science objectively speaking is simply the body of such verified hypotheses. This is as true in the realm of things with which religion concerns itself as in every other, and no more so. We reach our conclusions about the Bible and its teachings, its origin, date, inspiration, and authority, as we reach conclusions in other realms. Achieved results in this field are no more open to the blight of skepticism, to the demand of agnosticism, than in any other. We are, indeed, more sensitive to the suggestion of the necessity of revising our opinions here than in physics and so-called secular history; and this sensitiveness sometimes leads to exaggeration and panic. But these are wholly unwarranted. There is no more occasion to surrender to the agnostic that portion of the realm of theological thought in which data may be gathered, and hypotheses set up, tested, and verified, than to yield chemistry to him or the history of Rome.

Nor is the result of this process impoverishing to religion. For

if some former hypotheses are abandoned or modified by scientific criticism, this apparent loss is offset by a twofold gain. On the one hand, those beliefs—and there are many such—that emerge unharmed from the fire of criticism are far more strongly established than before, and on the other hand, the critical process brings to light new elements which, positively valued and used, enrich our faith. We must count our gains as well as our losses, nor fail to include among the former that inspiration, uplift, and development that come from the courageous pursuit of truth.

In the second place, it is most important to remember that in every realm of life there is and must probably always remain a broad penumbral band surrounding the area of scientifically ascertained fact. There are immense tracts which science has not entered; perhaps they can never be entered; at any rate for an indefinite time to come, whatever progress science may make, its enlarging circumference will be but the vaguely defined inner boundary of the realm it has not touched. But this realm is not remote from human life and experience. Untouched by science, we ourselves touch it every hour; and touch it in things that are most intimate and precious to us. And here it is that faith has, not, indeed, its only, but perhaps its most important, task. And this is true, not in respect of religion only, but in every phase of life. By what scientific test can the youth prove that the friend to whom his soul is drawn is worthy of his love and trust? Yet the great friendships of life are formed in youth, and the great decisions of life are made in youth, and wisdom is not with him who will not venture without demonstrative proof, but with him who, trusting the world and the voice of his own soul, makes the noble adventure. How can it be scientifically established that life is worth the living? But the world is well agreed that he who shirks life for lack of evidence that it is worth the living, or even in the face of much evidence that it is not so, proves himself a coward and a fool. And what if the study of the history of religions shows us that men have always made their gods of that which was at their hand, be it gold or silver, wood or clay, and that they have always blundered, sometimes more, sometimes less, as they have framed their conception of God after the analogy of the beasts about them, or the kings that ruled over them, or the man they found within

them? And what if, with the ever-enlarging vision of the universe which geology, astronomy, and all their sister-sciences have been giving us, God has become so infinitely larger than even he whom the philosopher once called the Infinite and Absolute, that the thoughtful man finds it difficult to keep him confined within the limits of any creed or ritual? What if man in proportion as he becomes scientific is compelled to put away the childish things that were so easy to handle, and to grapple with things that grow ever bigger and tend constantly to escape beyond the limits of his thought? Doubtless what happens in many cases is that the thinker grows weary of the effort to adjust himself to the enlargement of his own horizon, and takes refuge either in the more comfortable conceptions of his intellectual childhood, or in easy though benumbing agnosticism. But what ought to follow is not this, but the conscious, deliberate, joyous adventure of faith, the appropriation to oneself from out of the realm where science has not gone, and perhaps never can go, of that conception of things, and of that faith in the God of the human soul and of human life, which brings courage to the soul and inspiration into life. Such faith science neither contradicts nor forbids. It is in a sense ultra-scientific. In a larger sense it is in the highest measure scientific. Indeed it is only by virtue of a similar faith that science itself exists. And when science has reached its limits, which are by no means the limits of life or its needs, it is but rational, it is really scientific, to shape one's further course by the faith and hope which are justified by the tests of human life, though those tests necessarily lack the accuracy and definiteness necessary to bring them within the field of science in the stricter sense. This is what we do in business, this is what we do in friendship and love; in fact in all the affairs of life. Without the adventure of courageous faith life would be stale and dull indeed. It is irrational to make this adventure everywhere else and refuse it in religion.

Faith and the scientific mind are inconsistent if faith be narrow and unbelieving, or if science unscientifically set limits to thought and life. But if the scientific mind accepts all its larger implications, and if faith has the breadth and courage that properly belong to it, not only can they dwell together—they contribute each to the development of the other.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PROPHET[1]

PROFESSOR IRVING KING
The State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

It would not be *à propos*, in this paper, to discuss all the influences which have little by little broken the bonds of custom and given the individual man a standing of his own within the group or tribe. I wish, however, to suggest that one of these influences has been these selfsame strange experiences to which I have referred, and which are taken to mean that the individual is possessed by some peculiar external and perhaps superhuman power.

When a man in a primitive tribe has a vision, falls into a trance, or speaks in a seemingly strange tongue, he at once attracts attention; his various doings and experiences, even when they chance to be quite commonplace, acquire a significance in the eyes of his fellows that they could not possibly have if he were always in a normal condition. Furthermore, if, as a result of his experiences, he is consulted on important matters, or if he becomes more or less of a leader of his fellows, he is, in so far, raised above custom and started to thinking for himself. His own private personal states have now a recognized significance in his social group, and if he cultivates that aspect of himself, even though it be relatively a pathological aspect, he is cultivating an individuality that can transcend custom. Whenever he speaks his words will have weight, even though they contradict tradition; when he enjoins new modes of conduct, or condemns old usages as bad, he will be listened to and followed because he is thought to be under the control of something other than himself, or because it is the voice of God speaking through him. Now, if a person when "possessed" attains a degree of prominence unusual for normal persons, he will retain some of his pre-eminence when he is in his normal frame of mind. He will, even then, continue to be regarded by his fellows with a certain awe. The periods of normal conscious-

[1] Continued from the June number, p. 410.

ness in such a person, unless he is thoroughly demented, will alternate with the periods of possession. It is in these better balanced moments that he will reflect upon his experiences and seek to interpret them. His reflections upon these experiences and upon events and usages about him will have an added meaning because he will believe that he is even then under the guidance of his power.

It is in such conditions as are outlined above that we may find the beginnings of that phase of prophetism which is of the most positive significance in the history of religion. This phase we may call reflective prophetism. The man who believes he is inspired may be stimulated to go on and think for himself. His occasional extraordinary experiences assure him that his inner thoughts have a validity irrespective of customary religion and morals. Of course he will be apt to interpret his reflections as further phases of inspiration, that is, he will not regard them as his own thoughts but as God's breathed into him. The significant thing, however, is that *he may thus really think for himself*.

The reflective phase of prophetism occurs only in a relatively advanced stage of social development, a stage which it not only depends upon, but which it has helped to bring into existence. The later Hebrew prophets, beginning with Amos and Hosea and extending through the Isaiahs, are the great examples of reflective prophetism. Behind them lay the conception of the prophet as an inspired or possessed man. There is evidence that all of these men were also at times possessed by something like the primitive frenzy, at least they claimed to have visions, and they sometimes behaved in quite unaccountable ways so that they may have been regarded by their contemporaries as more or less mad or insane. We recognize, of course, that the later and greater Hebrew prophets, especially, disclaimed any connection with the primitive ecstatic type. They clearly saw that "possession" was no guaranty of divine leading. While admitting that they rose distinctly above that type of prophecy, it seems to me possible that they may have owed something to it. This reputation for madness may have been due in part to the fact that they so vigorously opposed the corrupt practices of the later monarchies. A favorite

accusation to bring against anyone who varies widely from the customary order of things is that he is a crank, or crazy. It may be said to be a general law of human society that every variant individual is relatively pathological in the eyes of the rest of the social group. But while some of the madness of these later prophets may be explained in this way, there is no doubt but that they had their "experiences" and that they thought that they found in these experiences a divine sanction for their great messages and pleas for moral regeneration. In fact, in all ages a great message seems to require an accompaniment of some unusual manifestation if it is to meet with a wide acceptance. When this is lacking the preacher drops to the level of a mere moralist, able, no doubt, to express many wise ideas, but unable to excite much popular interest. Even in modern preaching, there is a widespread prejudice among ignorant people against the reading of sermons, on the ground that the minister, if he reads, will not be able to give himself up sufficiently to divine leading. A written sermon is thought to be the product of the speaker's own intellect. At any rate, if the audience sees the minister actually "possessed," as it were, in its presence, it is much more impressed with the weight of the words spoken. I myself knew some years ago a very fervent and scholarly preacher of whom it was said that, in the beginning of his ministry, he was taken to task for not couching his message in the tones regarded by his sect as particular evidence of divine inspiration. His message was admitted to be edifying but it required the coloring of a peculiar sing-song tone to make it really weighty. This is a curious remnant of the primitive notion that a prophet must give evidence of the truth of his words by his being able, as he speaks, to pass into some ecstatic state when he will be *en rapport* with some higher power.

As regards the content of the message of the ancient prophet, there are several aspects which deserve consideration from the psychologist but which can only be mentioned here. As we have seen, it was not so much *what* the early prophet said as the fact that he was able to throw himself into a divine ecstasy that impressed his hearers. Hence the chief content of the most primitive prophecy consists in these very states of possession by superior

powers. Music and dancing figure largely in the proceeding, and the message is little more than incoherent utterances, or possibly songs or chantings, which, though meaningless babblings, are supposed by the listeners to be some divine or mystic language.

It is only with the development of the reflective phase, mentioned above, that the preaching ordinarily associated with the prophet became possible and this, as we have seen, was really the outcome of the reflective attitude of mind rather than of any trace of the primitive ecstatic frenzy.

There is another aspect of the prophet's message that is of interest, namely, that of prediction. Later ages have assumed that the Hebrew prophet foretold the course of events, even hundreds of years in the future. It is probably the supposed ability to foresee the future that has impressed all of us most forcefully and it has been the one characteristic of prophecy which it has been hardest for us to give up. The Hebrew word *nabhi*, however, only by implication conveys the idea of prediction. The *nabhi* is an inspired person and he is therefore one who delivers divine messages. But to the primitive mind the notion of inspiration carries with it the ability to foretell the future. To it there is nothing incredible or impossible about forecasting the future, especially if one can get *en rapport* with superior powers. Of course this does not mean that primitive people have any theories of foreordination, by which, in the divine mind, the entire course of events to the end of time is mapped out in detail. They merely assume, in a naïve way, that whatever they are anxious to know about or to do can be accomplished for them by the all-potent power which is about them and above them. Hence, quite naïvely, they attempt to turn to account their supposed influence with this superior power. We are all familiar with the various methods for determining the future which were used by the Hebrews along with other primitive peoples. In some cases the sacred lot was used, sometimes the future was revealed by visions or dreams, or in trances or ecstatic states. In all cases the fundamental supposition is that it is in these ways that the power is operative.

Thus the later Hebrew prophets, with the traditions of divination and of peering into the future back of them, quite possibly

considered it as part of their function to reveal the course of events to come as well as to plead for a higher plane of morality in the present. In fact, the plea for a better present life would be much enforced by taking a larger view of things, by seeing that all events, past, present, and future, are bound together in one organic whole. Here, indeed, we have the clue to some of the predictions. They were of the same type possible to all persons of keen insight into contemporary conditions and with some knowledge of past events. In many instances the prophet could easily say, "The things happening now, the deeds you are piling up, can have only one outcome, that is, national disaster and perhaps subjugation to some powerful enemy." But even where the prediction is easily based upon knowledge of contemporary events, it is doubtless true that the prophet as well as his hearers attributed the insight to *rapport* with Jehovah.

The prophets, however, did not confine themselves to predictions of this type. If we leave out of account those predictions which may be regarded as mere flights of poetic fancy, the expression of the national aspiration for a deliverer, as in the case of the so-called messianic prophecies of the unknown author of the latter part of Isaiah, there still remains a residuum of what may be regarded as genuine attempts at prediction. It should be recognized that later ages have very much exaggerated the prophet's supposed power to predict the future. When he predicted it was nearly always conditionally and with reference to events in the immediate future, not hundreds of years hence, as most people even yet suppose. It would be difficult to go through the writings of the prophets and select with any assurance just those passages which are genuine predictions, and yet prediction was so thoroughly in harmony with the tradition of prophecy that it can scarcely be doubted that they attempted to forecast the course of things to come. In fact, popular belief down to our own day has clung to the notion that the prophet may really in some mysterious way have the future revealed to him. This belief had been supported by the supposed fulfilment, in even minute details, of the predictions of the Hebrew seers. Among ourselves, also, there are people who claim to have forecast the future, but the evidence

they have offered in support of their claims has not been such as to pass unquestioned upon scientific examination. In general, it seems that a prediction which is actually fulfilled is either a lucky guess or a shrewd deduction based upon keen insight into present conditions. Moreover, the prediction which turns out to be correct attracts attention and is remembered, while those which fail are passed by and forgotten. A statistical study of modern prophecies, and there are many more of them than the reader may imagine, would reveal vast numbers of unfulfilled ones to every one apparently fulfilled. In many cases the fulfilments that are instanced are quite fanciful, the prediction being so ambiguous as to be susceptible, as those of the Delphic oracles, of two interpretations.

I could give many illustrations of the above point, for I once had the privilege of being the next-door neighbor of a modern "prophetess." Here is a typical example of her deliverances. The house in which she was living was for rent and a butcher came to look at it. As he went away, saying he would let them know later as to whether he would take the house, the woman had a vision, or a sort of hallucination, in which she saw the butcher leaving the house followed by a long line of sheep. On the basis of this vision she said that he would never rent the house, which, indeed, proved to be correct.

Popular belief in the possibility of prophecy has tended to smooth out the difficulties in the supposed fulfilments which appear when these are critically examined. The so-called fulfilments of the Hebrew prophecies require a very liberal interpretation of the meaning conveyed by the prophecies. Many of them have not in any genuine sense been accomplished. Of these may be mentioned the return of the Jews to the promised land and the restoration of the kingdom of David. Others have had only a symbolic fulfilment. Some of the predictions have no meaning except when taken as allegories, but it is hardly likely that the prophets themselves regarded their messages as allegorical. The most striking prophecies, those contained in the Book of Daniel, are now believed to have been written after the events they were supposed to foretell. The messianic prophecies deserve a careful psychological

analysis because there are many complicated mental factors which need to be taken into account. Possibly some quite straightforward utterances have been transformed by later ages into predictions. Is it not conceivable that even Jesus himself modified details of his conduct, perhaps quite naïvely, to conform to the statements of the Old Testament which he took to refer to himself? It is even more likely that the different persons who contributed to the gospel stories in all honesty recounted the events in such a way that they seemed to be definite fulfilments of predictions made centuries before. Not infrequently do we find it recorded that such a thing was done that it might be fulfilled as was spoken by a certain prophet. It would be almost inevitable that an uncritical writer, firmly convinced that Jesus was the Messiah, and believing thoroughly in the possibility of prediction, should imagine he detected in the ancient writings foreshadowings if not actual foretellings of many of the details in the life of Jesus. In some cases the quotations which these New Testament writers make from the Old Testament are inexact, in others the original meaning is obviously twisted. The psychologist is conversant with the fact that it is quite possible for a person whose mind is saturated with a certain idea to see objective happenings in a very distorted perspective and yet be entirely sincere in his belief that he sees correctly. Hence we can see that the view here set forth of the fulfilment of prophecy in the New Testament does not in any manner attribute moral perversity to those writers, nor does it detract in any way from their lofty religious messages.

The conclusion to which we are drawn, taking into account such facts as are mentioned above, is that the whole conception of prediction, while a common one both in ancient and modern times, is adventitious to religion and is a relic of primitive superstition. It is not in any sense an important element in prophetism, even though it has often been associated with it. The theory of the possibility of prediction is but a special application of the more general idea that the prophet is under the control of a higher power and is therefore endowed with various extraordinary abilities, among which is that of being able to see the future. As far as positive influence upon the development of religion is concerned,

the real significance of the prophet lies in the fact that he may become a preacher, a man of deep insight into life and the conditions of righteousness.

The inspiration of the prophet presents another interesting psychological problem. The Hebrew prophets, both the earlier and the later ones, felt when they spoke that it was under the control or the inspiration of the spirit of Jehovah. Almost every page of their writings emphasizes the vividness of this conviction. Whether their words were predictions, or merely exhortations to a higher plane of righteousness, they regarded them as not their own but Jehovah's. This sense of inspiration is also capable of comparative study and even of psychological analysis. Mohammed believed himself to be the mouthpiece of Allah, and the long line of prophets, both pagan and Christian, have been emphatic in their assertions that they were but the instruments of expression of some deity. Joseph Smith the Mormon, Monod the French messiah, Dowie, and the many also who have been fortunate enough to gain the recognition of the orthodox church, have claimed that they were at times in the control of a power not their own, which they interpreted as that of God. Now, there is no reason for assuming that these persons were guilty of conscious deception in making such claims. It is a well-known fact of psychology that it is possible for a person in almost any vocation to have sudden uprushes into clear consciousness of ideas so vivid and so well organized, in fact, so foreign to everything which that person imagines he has previously thought about, that he feels quite naturally that they can come only from a source outside himself. The poet of ancient times was regarded as possessed of a divine frenzy when he composed his verses, and he was, in fact, scarcely differentiated from the prophet. This same sense of inspiration is frequently referred to by the poets of all ages. Orators also have their inspirations, and so do scientific men, mathematicians, artists, and even people in the ordinary walks of life. All feel at such times that they are in the sway of a superior mind, for the things they find themselves doing are so different from those of which they are ordinarily capable. Goethe, to give one instance, states that almost the whole of the *Sorrows of Werther*

seemed to burst forth into the focus of consciousness without previous thought on his part. It appealed to him with all the quality of a divine inspiration. Sir William Hamilton reports that some of his great mathematical generalizations flashed upon him in this same manner. Now, for a person who is unfamiliar with the psychology of such phenomena and who also believes in the possibility of spirit possession, the conclusion is almost irresistible that, in such cases as these, some external and perhaps divine power has actually used the man as a vehicle of expression. It would not be fitting to go into details at this point. Suffice it to say that every aspect of the feeling of inspiration or of control by superior powers as described by the prophet, the poet, or the orator can be paralleled, either in ordinary experience or in cases of mental pathology.

On the side of inspiration, then, we may willingly grant to the prophet elevated and even powerful thoughts. In fact, the successful preacher, poet, orator, or writer must have a rich background of experience, a subconscious self, we may call it for want of a better term, on which he can draw freely and deeply. He must be capable of powerful enthusiasms and he usually is. If we wish to give a scientific account of such a person, however, we gain nothing by trying to account for his power through external agencies. If his message is true it carries the warrant of its truth upon its face or it proves itself by its influence in shaping the affairs of men for the better. If the message is true, it could not be made any truer through the fact that it was inspired by some spirit or deity. Moreover, if spirit inspiration were proved to be possible, we should still have to test the message by its effect upon human life before we should be satisfied as to whether it came from a good or an evil spirit. The whole popular belief that the truth or excellence of the prophet's message depends upon whether it comes from some source outside himself or not is but a remnant of the primitive superstition that what is well known is commonplace and trivial while what is striking or unusual is therefore divine.

What, then, is the positive outcome of our exposition? It is that religion should get rid of the notion that God communicates

with man through some special states of mind, or through the subconscious self, as some prefer to call it. Such a notion is crass and primitive. God is not a phenomenon, nor is he a person like ourselves, nor is it easy to think of him as one among many causes. All we really know, when we leave off figurative language, is that the Deity is a valuational concept rather than a term descriptive of reality in the same sense that a "chair" refers to some external object that may affect our physical senses. God symbolizes an intangible, but not less real, essence of value in the universe. Hence when he speaks to man it is not necessary for us to suppose that he must do it as we do by a voice, or even through apparitions, or by stirring up subconscious thoughts in us, or by implanting in our minds ideas unconnected with or foreign to our previous systems of thought. He may appear, rather, in *all* the varied phases of personal activity and yet not in any sense be an interpolation. If we are able to express a noble thought, or if, by reflection, we come to a deeper insight into duty or righteousness, we just in so far express, or bring to light, the values implicit in this great unfathomed universe. We have expressed the essence of this worth just as the scientist may, by his formulas and descriptions, express the laws of physics or of chemistry. We may call it all an inspiration, if we choose to put it that way, but not in the sense that it is something adventitious or something that has been miraculously introduced into consciousness from without. It is an activity of the conscious being itself, working according to its own nature. It is a satisfying thought that we may, through the normal processes of our human nature, thus be able to express something that is valid, true, and abiding.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

I. THE FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

PROFESSOR E. F. SCOTT, D.D.
Queen's University, Kingston, Canada

The conception of a future life which comes before us in the New Testament is different in kind from any that had preceded it. Jesus Christ through his gospel had brought life and immortality to light, transforming into a certain hope what had hitherto been nothing but a vague surmise. None the less, in this as in so many other of its teachings, Christianity built upon foundations which had already been laid. In order to understand the New Testament conception in its distinctive aspects, it is necessary to begin with some brief review of the influences which went to form it. The borrowed elements are all fused together in the later doctrine, and undergo an essential change in the process of fusion; yet their nature and origin can be at least roughly determined.

We are now learning that the forces which acted upon New Testament thought were far more numerous and complex than our older theology was willing to admit. It used to be taken for granted that Christianity grew up within a charmed circle, affected by no influences from without except those of the ancient scriptures. But this insulation of New Testament doctrine and belief is no longer possible. It has become evident that even through the channel of Scripture many of the speculations of Persian and Babylonian religion found their way into the creed of the primitive church. The Old Testament, moreover, was only one of many formative influences which have all to be taken into account. Jesus himself breathed the atmosphere of Palestinian Judaism—modified as it had been by centuries of obscure development and still sensitive to outside ideas, in spite of the fence which had been erected around the Law. The Apostles worked and thought in the tumultuous world of gentile civilization. They were touched, whether consciously or not, by the manifold intellectual move-

ment of their time; and the reflection of it can be discerned over all their thinking. In the doctrine of the future life, more than in any other, we have to reckon with a wide variety of factors which all contributed in a greater or less degree to the Christian conception.

1. The Old Testament itself, as has been shown in detail in a previous series of articles, contains at least the beginnings of the subsequent doctrine. It is true that the Old Testament writers are mainly concerned with the survival of the nation; but in the later books we can trace the growth of an individualism which has ceased to rest satisfied with the mere national hope. The Old Testament, however, is a primary source for the Christian belief, not so much because of certain isolated texts in the Book of Job or the Psalms, as in virtue of the larger ideas which pervade its whole teaching. The prophets had arrived at a lofty conception of the ethical character of God. They were convinced that in righteousness and obedience the true life of man consists. They aspired to communion with God as the one supreme blessing. The hope of a future life can have little real meaning unless it is related to these great moral and religious ideas; and they cannot be worked out to their final issues without awakening the hope. In the Old Testament they are not fully worked out. The horizon of the prophets is bounded by the conditions of the present world, and they are content to seek the fulfilment of their higher aspirations within those limits. But the belief in immortality as we find it in the New Testament is in direct line with their teaching, and serves to complete it and make it self-consistent. Again and again the Christian writers give utterance to their hope in language directly borrowed from the Psalms and Prophets. The deeper significance was already latent in the scriptural words, and needed only to be made apparent.

In one important respect the Christian doctrine continued to bear the impress of its origin in the Old Testament. It was assumed, and the idea is strongly emphasized in Paul's great argument, that the spiritual existence after death implies also a bodily resurrection. There seemed to be something unreal and defective about the life to come unless it reproduced in some manner all the conditions of the present. This peculiar conception may

partly be set down to the survival of a primitive mode of thought which regarded the soul as naked and helpless apart from the body. But we may also see in it an unconscious attempt to conserve the Old Testament view side by side with that which developed at a later time. Life, to the Old Testament thinkers, was necessarily associated with the body and with the varied activities of which the body is the organ. The life of the future was therefore conceived not as purely spiritual, but as the earthly life transfigured and raised to a higher plane. It can hardly be denied that this Old Testament view has imposed a serious limitation on Christian thought. The belief in immortality became entangled from the first in needless difficulties and was rendered in some measure self-contradictory. At the same time we can recognize that the ancient view, however crude in itself, helped to safeguard an all-important element in the belief. The immortality to which the Christian looked forward was a new life, as full and real and concrete as the life that now is. There could be no dissolving of it into some vague reunion with universal spirit; for the whole man was to rise again, body and soul together. Thus the doctrine of a bodily resurrection, which laid such a difficult task on early Christian apologetics, was by no means a mere superfluous burden. It was nothing else than the assertion, under peculiar forms of thought, of a faith in personal immortality.

2. In their unfolding of the prophetic suggestions of a future life, the Christian thinkers were only carrying to a further stage the work which had already commenced in Jewish theology. We are familiar from our reading of the New Testament itself with the controversy between the two great Jewish sects: "For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both" (Acts 23:8). On the ground of this and similar notices we are apt to think of the Sadducees as the free-thinkers or agnostics of Judaism; but the truth is that they maintained the strict conservative attitude. They took their stand on the letter of inspired Scripture, rejecting the beliefs that owed their origin to later innovation. The Pharisees, whose name has become a by-word for a formal traditionalism, were in one sense the progressive party in Jewish religious life.

Their elaboration of the Law, external and sophistical though it was, was a real attempt to develop the ancient code and make it more adequate to changing needs and conditions. On its theological side, likewise, they sought to develop the Old Testament teaching. They took up the idea of a future life which was latent in the religion of the prophets, and presented it as an explicit doctrine. It occupies a central place in the apocalyptical books, which originated for the most part in the Pharisaic schools, during the period from the Maccabaean revolt to the fall of Jerusalem.

The conception of immortality which finds expression in these writings is mainly deduced from two cardinal prophetic ideas. On the one hand it follows out to its ultimate issues the doctrine of retribution, inseparable from the belief that God governs the world. To the prophets, with their profound conviction of the justice of God, the actual destinies of men afforded an insoluble riddle. They endeavored by various answers to throw light on the mystery of why the righteous suffer and the wicked are left unpunished; but it was incapable of explanation so long as the present life was regarded by itself. The apocalyptical writers were led by the teaching of the prophets to take the further step from which the prophets themselves had held back. They admitted the apparent failure of divine justice in this life, and set their hopes on a future in which all balances would be redressed. On the other hand, the later thinkers laid hold of the prophetic anticipation of the Kingdom of God, and interpreted it along new lines. The ancient dream of a glorious future in store for Israel had proved delusive; and the apocalyptists, while refusing to part with it, looked for its fulfilment in a new age, and under a supernatural order. They held that the present world had fallen into bondage to evil powers, and that it contained no promise or possibility of better things. But they were confident that in a little time the existing order would give place to another, which would be introduced suddenly, by the immediate act of God. The natural heirs of this coming Kingdom would be faithful Jews who should be alive at the time of its advent; but if God was just, something more was necessary. His Kingdom must embrace not only the righteous among the living, but those who had wrought and

suffered in past times out of fidelity to his cause. They had died without receiving the promises, but when the Kingdom came God would raise them to life again that they might share in the victory. In its original form, as we find it in Daniel and the earlier portions of the Book of Enoch, this prospect of a future life was reserved solely for the righteous; and even at a later time the rising from the dead was conceived primarily as a "resurrection of the just" (Luke 14:14). But when the belief had once rooted itself, it became more and more comprehensive. Men learned to anticipate a general resurrection, preparatory to a final judgment of the world, when righteous and wicked alike would be rewarded according to their works. In the time of Jesus, the doctrine of a future life had permeated downward from the Pharisaic Schools, and was accepted as one of the foremost tenets in common Jewish belief. The details of the doctrine were ill-defined, and were left open to free speculation; but the main truth was received with little question by devout minds. Mourners comforted themselves, like Martha, with the knowledge that their dead "would rise again in the resurrection." The anticipation of a future life, in which his due reward would be measured out to every man, was the chief motive power behind the law.

3. But the native Jewish influences which went to mold the New Testament doctrine were reinforced by others, of a more indirect nature. Perhaps the chief of these was the syncretism which coincided with the early progress of Christianity and which constitutes one of the strangest and most perplexing phenomena in religious history. Ever since the days of Alexander the Great, the old partitions between the eastern and Hellenic worlds had been broken down; and the commingling of peoples had advanced even more rapidly under the Roman empire. The conquests of Lucullus and Pompey and the subsequent annexation of Egypt had opened up an active intercourse between East and West. As a result of the system of slavery, the great cities of Europe had become largely oriental in their population. Wherever they were settled the alien races brought with them their own religions, which were gradually fused with one another and with the religions and philosophies of the West. It was in the midst of this welter

of confused beliefs that the Christian missionaries pursued their work; and their success was made possible in no small measure by the widespread awakening of the religious spirit which had resulted from the ferment.

To what extent were the Christian teachings affected by ideas that filtered in from the various oriental cults? We have here a problem of extreme difficulty, which the New Testament scholarship of our own day is painfully endeavoring to solve. Some of the attempted solutions have been marked by a wild extravagance. The origins of Christianity have been resolved almost into a tissue of oriental symbolism and theosophy, devoid of any appreciable basis in historical fact. Conclusions of this kind will not stand the test of careful investigation; and proofs are fast accumulating that ideas and beliefs which have hastily been regarded as exotic were simply taken over from Judaism, or were the spontaneous outgrowth of Christian thought. Nevertheless it is idle to deny that the alien religions exerted a powerful influence. Apart from any direct borrowing, they were assimilated to Christianity through the common atmosphere of the time. Even the current language, as we are now learning from the researches of Deissmann and others, was saturated with terms that had received a peculiar meaning from the eastern cults. The Christian teachers had no choice but to accept those terms and along with them, in many cases, the whole system of ideas which they connoted.

It was in the doctrine of the future life, above all others, that Christian thought tended to coalesce with the mysticism of the East. The oriental religions, widely as they differed from each other, all found their center in the idea of redemption. The world of material circumstance was regarded as a sort of prison in which the spirit had been confined through the agency of malign powers; and escape was sought from it by means of mysteries and sacramental rites. It was believed that in these the worshiper was brought into communion with the god—Attis or Mithra or Osiris—and ascended along with him toward a world of freedom and life. There was much in these eastern beliefs that corresponded with the teaching of Christianity itself; and for this reason the Christian missionaries more readily took advantage of the symbols

and ideas provided by them. They offered their gospel to the pagan world as the true message of redemption, and set forth its promise of a future life under forms that had already become familiar. In the course of the second century the foreign beliefs had so blended themselves with Christianity that they threatened to destroy its distinctive character and submerge it in the prevailing syncretism. From this imminent peril it only succeeded in rescuing itself after a life-and-death struggle. But although the gnostic heresy was overcome, not a few of its modes of thinking were definitely accepted as elements in the Christian faith; and we can trace the beginnings of this process of assimilation even in the thought of the New Testament.

4. There remains yet another factor which cannot be neglected when we try to understand the development of the Christian conception. The thinking of the first century was all affected, to a greater or less degree, by Greek philosophy, the main results of which had now been popularized by literature and ordinary discussion. All the new religions sought to effect an alliance with one or other of the philosophical systems—in this way furnishing their tenets with some kind of rational basis, and securing for them an entrance into the western mind. To Christian thinkers the ideas of philosophy were the more accessible as they had already been incorporated with Judaism in the speculations of Philo. The church served itself heir to the Alexandrian system, and began to adopt it, even in the New Testament period, as the recognized organ of its theology. Now the Greek philosophers, building on ideas originally borrowed from the East, had elaborated a peculiar doctrine of immortality. The spiritual nature of man, as they conceived it, was essentially an activity of thought. By virtue of the intelligent principle within him man rose superior to the flux of earthly things and had his part in the higher world of external forms. Through a discipline of knowledge he could identify himself wholly with his intellectual nature, so that all accidents of time, and death itself, would have no power to touch him. It was by means of Greek philosophy—and this was its chief service in the sphere of religion—that Christianity was enabled to conceive of an immortality which was involved in the

very constitution of man. The Jewish and oriental beliefs in a future life had all turned on the idea of a resurrection. They assumed that man was a creature of earth, whose natural portion was death; and that he could not attain to an endless life unless he was raised anew, by a special divine act. Greek philosophy could not rest satisfied with this contingent immortality. It taught the Christian thinkers to pass beyond the idea of resurrection, and to discover a sure ground for their hope, in the inherent nature of man. At the same time, there was this limitation in the Greek doctrine, that it worked solely with intellectual categories. The soul persisted after death in so far as it was one with the intelligent principle of the universe; and an immortality thus conceived could be little more than abstract and impersonal. Mind in itself, not the individual expressions of it in human lives, was regarded as immortal. In such a system as Stoicism the thought of a personal immortality was merged entirely in that of a reunion with the universal Logos. Even Plato could maintain an individual character for the future life only with the help of mythological and imaginative ideas which are foreign to his main conception. Thus the doctrine of immortality, in spite of the philosophical arguments, had little real hold on the educated mind of Greece. When Paul spoke at Athens, his audience broke up impatiently as soon as he made mention of the resurrection of the dead.

These, then, are the influences that come chiefly into consideration when we examine the New Testament conception of the future life. It needs always to be remembered, however, that they cannot be marked off from each other with any precision. Jewish apocalyptical beliefs were derived in large measure from eastern sources, and offered many points of contact with the ideas of syncretism. Greek philosophy, as the Christian thinkers knew it, had entered into combination with the oriental cults and even with Jewish theology; and we cannot distinguish sharply between religious and purely speculative elements. Moreover, beneath all the specific influences there were others, impossible to define or classify, which must yet be taken into account. Out of this whole confused mass of contemporary thought and belief

arose the doctrine of the future life as we find it in the New Testament.

But while it availed itself so largely of pre-existing material, Christianity contributed one vital factor of its own, by which it transmuted everything that it had borrowed. This was the conviction that Jesus Christ had risen from the dead. The faith of the primitive church was determined, in all its aspects, by the fact of the resurrection. It had here the crowning proof of the messianic character of Jesus, the index of a divine purpose involved in his death, the guaranty of all his promises. But the belief in the resurrection had a still more powerful and immediate bearing on the hope of a future life.

On the one hand, this hope was now invested with a new reality. Hitherto it had always lain in the region of conjecture, and was open to question even among religious Jews. The Sadducees frankly rejected it, and perhaps there was no one who maintained it without a lingering doubt. By the resurrection of Jesus it had become for the Christian church one of the absolute certainties. Christ had arisen, the first-born among many brethren, and the power of death was now definitely broken. The Apostles could go forth to the heathen world, not with arguments however persuasive, but with the testimony of what they had seen and known.

On the other hand, the belief that Christ had risen gave a new meaning and content to the traditional hope. For Christians the mysterious life of the future was now identified with that life into which Jesus had passed, as their forerunner. They could look forward to an endearing fellowship with the Lord; they knew that when he appeared they would be like him. Thus the bare conception of a survival after death was now invested with a rich spiritual significance. Through Christ the future had revealed itself. The life laid up for his people was nothing else than that new life which they saw realized in him, and of which they had a foretaste already in the experience of faith.

It was the confidence, therefore, that Christ had risen which crystallized all the surmises and speculations of the past, and molded out of them the New Testament conception of immortality. But the belief in the resurrection was thus decisive because

there lay behind it the whole impression of the personality of Jesus and of his life and teaching. Christian theology has too often been content to deal with the resurrection of Jesus as with an isolated fact. There has been endless discussion of the historical evidence by which it is supported, as if it challenged our belief on the ground of this alone. But when all is said, it was not the actual appearances, in Galilee or Jerusalem, which brought assurance to the disciples that the Lord had risen. These, whatever may have been their nature, owed all their convincing power to the experience of what Jesus had been, while he lived on earth. "Him hath God raised up, having loosed the pains of death; for it was not possible that he should be holden of it" (Acts 2:24). The incident of the resurrection served only to gather to a focus the whole significance of the work of Jesus. He had opened up for men the vision of the eternal. In their communion with him they had been awakened to the knowledge of a new life, which could not be holden of death.

While it is true, then, that the Christian idea of immortality was made possible, and was in some sense created, by the faith in the resurrection, it runs back to something which was prior to that faith, and which is independent of all doubtful and conflicting testimonies. It belongs inseparably to the whole revelation which had been given to men in Jesus Christ. By the gospel which he proclaimed and the life which he lived among them, he had quickened them to a larger hope, that sought its fulfilment in a world to come.

THE SCRIBES' INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE
The University of Chicago

The Judaism of New Testament times was distinctly a book religion. The "law," the "prophets," and the "writings" formed a body of sacred literature which was treated with a reverence akin to the respect paid God himself. Wherever the Jew went he carried his sacred book, and when unable to read it in the original Hebrew, provision was made for rendering it into the language of his daily life. This literature, more especially the law, was the center about which all his life and thinking revolved. It was studied in the home and the school, it was read in the public assembly, and it was thought to contain wisdom for determining conduct in every sphere of life. God's message to men, communicated in former times through lawgivers, prophets, and sages, was now sought chiefly in this written word. Thus it was regarded as the unique revelation of God's will for Israel—the account of what he had willed in the past and the foreshadowing of his intentions for the future.

But a book produced in one period of history is rarely perfectly intelligible to succeeding generations whose immediate interests and circumstances are necessarily different from those of the original writer. The book needs to be interpreted, and this need becomes more and more imperative as time advances. Particularly strong is the necessity for interpretation in an age when the original language of a writing is no longer a living tongue, and yet the contents of the book are supposed to be of the utmost importance for contemporary life. This was the situation in Judaism in the first century of our era. The primitive social, political, and religious conditions which called forth the work of Israel's early leaders had long since passed, the language they

used was no longer known except by the scholars, and yet their writings were thought to contain the very words of God given for the guidance of his chosen people in all ages. Hence the need of the scribe, the professional interpreter, and the importance of his position among the people.

In all this the Jews are not alone. Many religions have their sacred writings and their professional interpreters, but in this respect Christianity stands in a peculiarly close relation to Judaism. The Jews' book was appropriated by the Christians as their own book, and its earliest Christian interpreters were of Jewish parentage and training. After Christianity moved away from its original Jewish setting it still retained the primitive conception of the significance of the book, and it continued to regard interpretation of Scripture as one of the most important factors in religious thinking. Therefore it may be of interest at present to ask how the Old Testament was interpreted both by the scribes in Judaism and by the Christian scribes, as we may call them. We shall consider first the work of the Jewish interpreters, and confine attention mainly to the New Testament period. If we can form some estimate of their method and its results it may be suggestive for us in our own efforts to interpret Scripture.

Notwithstanding the absence of direct documentary examples of Jewish interpretation from the century before and after Jesus' birth, there certainly were individuals in this period who gave themselves to the study and exposition of the law at least. Jeremiah laments that the people know not the law of Jehovah for they are deceived by the falsifying pen of the scribes (Jer. 8:8). The work of the scribes was very different in spirit from that of the prophets, yet it was a work of peculiar importance in the post-exilic period. It was carried on by men of the type of Ezra, "the scribe of the words of the commandments of Jehovah and of his statutes to Israel," "a ready scribe in the law of Moses" and a man who had "set his heart to seek the law of Jehovah and to do it and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments" (Ezra 7:6, 10 f.). The scribes came to be highly esteemed among the people. At first they were of the priestly class but later their ranks seem to have been recruited largely from the laity, and when many of

the priests were yielding to Hellenistic influence from without, the scribes remained most loyal advocates of fidelity to the ancestral customs and traditions.[1] They were the teachers of the people, and so loyal to their trust that they fell "by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil," suffering vicariously for the refinement and purification of Israel (Dan. 11:33–35). Their reward was to be an eternal brightness shining like the stars forever and ever (Dan. 12:3). In Ecclesiasticus the scribe and his work receive unstinted praise (38:24—39:11).

These teachers are referred to in the New Testament most frequently as "scribes" (γραμματεῖς); sometimes as "lawyers" (νομικοί) and "teachers of the law" (νομοδιδάσκαλοι). While they are often presented in an unfavorable light, the importance of their position in Judaism is self-evident. They are associated with the priests and elders as opponents of Jesus, they are the recognized guides of the people in all religious matters, they have developed a characteristic form of teaching from which Jesus' teaching differs, they are the generally accepted authorities on all questions of interpretation, and when puzzling issues arise, like the question of the birthplace of the Messiah, his ancestry, or his forerunner, they are the persons looked to for an answer.

Furthermore, the Mishnah mentions the Soferim ("scribes") and the Zugoth ("pairs") as authorities for its tradition. The designation Soferim is used of Ezra and his successors down to the beginning of the second century B.C. Of these, and of the "Great Synod" of 120 members said to have been maintained by them, we know very little; but it is clear that teachers of the law figured very prominently in this period. Ezra preaching from his pulpit in the broad place before the water gate (Neh., chap. 8) will hardly have been working alone; indeed occasionally his helpers are mentioned by name (Neh. 8:7; cf. Ezra 8:16). The term Zugoth is used of pairs of teachers prominent in the second

[1] Cf. especially I Macc. 7:12 f.; II Macc. 6:18 ff.; Josephus, *Ant.*, XVII, 6, 2 ff.; *War*, I, 33, 2 ff., narrates a striking instance of this loyalty displayed in the time of Herod the Great, when Matthias and Judas, "two of the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws," incited their pupils to cut down the golden eagle from above the Temple gate. Their defense, on the ground of their supreme allegiance to the law of God, is almost identical in spirit with that made by the early Christians before the Jewish authorities in Acts 4:19 ff.

and first centuries B.C. and said by a somewhat doubtful tradition to have served, respectively, as president and vice-president of the Sanhedrin. The period of the Zugoth closes with the well-known names of Hillel and Shammai. Here begins the activity of the so-called Tannaim,[2] the formulators and creators of oral tradition in the first and second centuries A.D. We may feel assured that practically from the time of Ezra on there was no dearth of teachers of the law among the Jews.

Yet specific examples of their actual work in the first century A.D., and earlier, fail us today. The literary remains of Jewish interpretation after the second or third century of our era are really vast in extent, but for the earlier period we must depend largely upon the later rabbis' testimony to the teaching of their predecessors. To be sure the Mishnah, a topical compilation of the oral law, is a relatively early product, but it has come to us only through the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds, completed in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Although it is the oldest portion of the Talmud—is indeed the text of which the completed Talmud is an exposition—at best the Mishnah itself was not committed to writing, in any complete and formal sense, before the second century A.D. As its very name signifies, it was the oral (מִשְׁנָה) instruction as compared with the teaching read (מִקְרָא) from the written law of Moses, yet for a long time before the opening of the Christian era this type of tradition must have been in process of formation.[3] While it may no longer be possible to say with absolute certainty that particular statements in the

[2] Used in the Talmud distinguishing these teachers from the later Amoraim whose specific work is the interpretation of the Mishnah. In the Mishnah itself the Tannaim are spoken of only as "rabbis" or "sages."

[3] Though the task of codifying this mass of oral material is said to have begun with Rabbi Akiba and his disciple Rabbi Meir, if not indeed with Hillel, the credit for its completion is given by tradition to Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi near the close of the second century A.D. Allowance must, however, be made for later changes and additions. At first it seems to have been thought improper to commit the oral teaching to writing (cf. *Gittin*, 60*b* and *Temura*, 14*b*), and indeed some interpreters (e.g., Rashi) think that even Rabbi Judah did not write out his compilation but transmitted it orally to his pupils (so Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 2 Aufl., IV, 494, but the view seems untenable; cf. I. H. Weiss, *Dor Dor*, III, 244–48). It is possible that even at an early date teachers may have had for private use some fragmentary written materials, e.g., the so-called "secret roll" (מגלת סתרים).

Mishnah are pre-Christian, we may safely infer that the exegetical methods there used and the general content of the exposition were current in the time of Jesus and the New Testament writers.

A further example of the early exegesis is the Tosefta, a topically arranged compilation of oral teaching similar to the Mishnah in content but more full in treatment. It is said to contain tradition from the time of Rabbi Akiba or earlier, yet in its present form it is a work of the fifth or sixth century A.D. Similarly the Mekilta, the Sifra, and the Sifre cannot be traced beyond the middle of the second century of our era, and as known to us much of their content is of a later date. They present, in contrast with the topical arrangement of the Mishnah and Tosefta, a running commentary on portions of the biblical text—the Mekilta on Exod. 12:1—23:19; 31:12–17; 35:1–3, the Sifra on the Book of Leviticus, and the Sifre on Num., chaps. 5–36, and the whole of Deuteronomy. While these works are of too late a date to be used generally as source material for our present study, perhaps a part of their content is as old as our New Testament. Indeed in literary style they are closer than the Mishnah to the New Testament. In contrast with the Mishnah's conciseness and brevity they come nearer to the narrative form known as midrash, although they are concerned mainly with instruction of a legal character, termed halakah.

More distinctly in the New Testament style are the so-called haggadic midrashim, that is, exegetical amplifications in the form of edifying discourse. Jewish literature is rich in such works,[4] but these as known to us are of so late a date that they seem at first sight valueless for New Testament study. Nevertheless, the New Testament writers were certainly influenced by this general type of interpretation, and some of its more specific items, though now appearing in late collections, may have circulated in earlier times. For example the "Rabbah" on Num. 1:1 says the well which supplied the water to Israel in the wilderness was a crag like a bee-hive and it used to roll along and accompany them on their journeyings—a notion which evidently was current in

[4] E.g., "Rabbah" (a series of homiletical discourses on the Pentateuch and the Five Rolls), the "Pesiktoth" (homilies on the synagogue lections), and other important collections.

Paul's day (I Cor. 10:4).[5] And that the midrastic method of interpretation was popular in pre-Christian times can scarcely be doubted in view of such works as Chronicles and the Book of Jubilees.

The Mishnah and kindred works mentioned above are written in neo-Hebrew, thus showing the prevailing prejudice against employing the Aramaic speech of everyday life for religious writings. Yet in the synagogue of Jesus' day the scriptures were rendered and interpreted in Aramaic. Although custom required this to be done orally, probably the translation became conventionalized at an early date and was written down at least for private use. These translations, called Targums, some of which are now extant, are not merely literal renderings but often are interpretative paraphrases of the original. But here again the late appearance of the literary form detracts from its worth as a witness to an early type of interpretation. The Targums never gained any substantial recognition as authoritative documents, and their preservation seems to be due mainly to the literary interest of the later Babylonian schools. However, they are not to be dismissed outright, for some of them are written in the Aramaic dialect of Judea and not improbably represent, at least in part, a type of Palestinian interpretation familiar to Jesus and the apostles.

Thus it would appear that the age of Jesus and his disciples was one of remarkable activity among Jewish interpreters, even though documentary evidence for the specific content of interpretation is not now available. From the later portions of the Old Testament, to some extent from the New Testament, perhaps from Philo and Josephus,[6] and from the presuppositions of the later rabbinical exegesis we may infer some things about the work of the scribes previous to and contemporary with the New Testament writers. To be sure, it may be quite unsafe to treat the Mishnah,

[5] For other items probably derived from the Midrashim by the New Testament writers see Matt. 1:5; Luke 4:25; Acts 2:1 ff.; 7:22, 53; Gal. 3:19; II Tim. 3:8; Heb. 11:37; James 5:17; Jude 9.

[6] Strictly speaking, Philo and Josephus are not representatives of Palestinian scribism, but their writings furnish interesting materials for the study of New Testament interpretative methods.

the Tosefta, etc., as a compendium of the views of Jesus' contemporaries, yet there seems every reason to believe that these works partly represent with a fair degree of accuracy the general type of the earlier exegesis. A rabbi of the second century A.D. may not have made the same statements as the teachers in the preceding century, but he probably based his argument upon much the same presuppositions and expounded it in much the same way.

The presuppositions and methods of this interpretation may now be summarized. We are not to imagine that the scribe was concerned with problems which are often discussed in modern study. His first interest was not to determine the original circumstances under which a book had been written and the purpose it had been intended to serve, nor did he trouble himself in modern fashion with questions of authorship and date. These matters were settled for him by tradition, and there probably was no disposition at the time to ask for evidence of a tradition's validity. Not only was the Decalogue thought to be a direct communication from God mediated to the people by Moses (Exod. 20:1; 32:16; 34:1; Deut. 5:2 ff.), but ultimately the whole law—moral, judicial, and ceremonial (i.e. the Pentateuch)—was treated as the divine word communicated to Israel through the instrumentality of Moses. He had ordained laws by "divine suggestion" and left them in writing "as he had information on each matter from God" (Josephus, *Ant.*, IV, 8, 2 and 4; cf. Deut. 33:4, 9 f.; I Chron. 16:40; Ezra 3:2; Neh. 8:2 ff.). A similar idea of peculiar sacredness early came to be attached to the two remaining divisions of the scriptures, the "prophets" and the "writings." The forefathers in Israel had committed to high priests and prophets the task of writing the nation's records, and Josephus is confident that these records have been handed down with "utmost accuracy." Furthermore, "everyone is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any discrepancy in what is written, as only prophets have written the original and earliest accounts of things as they learned them of God himself by inspiration, as they have also written clearly what happened in their own times" (*Apion*, I, 7). The books thus produced are "justly believed to be divine."

Since the scripture was God's own word he had taken care that its transmission should be without defect. This idea, for a scribe at the beginning of the Christian era, would be axiomatic.

A natural accompaniment of belief in an infallibly preserved tradition was the idea of a closed canon. A set number of books came to be accepted as authentic guides in religious matters. Modern interest in examining the conditions which gave rise to such an idea, and the historical circumstances which fixed the canon's limits, were not problems for the scribe. He found certain books which had come by custom to be treated with peculiar reverence, and his task was not to determine their authority but to expound and enforce it with all possible skill. As early as the time of Deuteronomy the religious teachers of Israel had found it desirable to attempt to define the limits of canonicity (Deut. 4:2; 12:32), thus safeguarding their own position and rendering the task of religious instruction more specific; and as the synagogue worship increased in importance, the notion of a definitely fixed body of sacred writings was correspondingly emphasized. Thus the scribe and the book came to supersede the priest and the temple cultus. The exact content of the canon may not have been universally agreed upon in Jesus' day, but the canonical idea must have been fully accepted. A threefold division had been recognized as early as the writing of the prologue to Ecclesiasticus, the New Testament writers know of a specific body of scripture (Luke 24:44; cf. 1:70; 16:16 f., 29, 31; 20:42; Matt. 5:17; 7:12; 22:40; Acts 1:20; 13:15), and Josephus, speaking of the whole collection as "law," "prophets," "hymns and precepts," says: "No one has ventured either to add anything to them, or to take anything from them, or to make any change in them" (*Apion*, I, 8; cf. Enoch 104:10–13; Rev. 22:19).

Along with the notion of a divinely given scriptural guide for life went, as a natural corollary, another presupposition of wide-reaching importance: the doctrine of mechanical inspiration. Philo explicitly affirms that a prophet speaks nothing of himself, but is only the mouthpiece of the spirit of God which possesses him (*de special. Legibus*, IV, 8 and *de Monarchia*, I, 9; cf. *vita Mosis*, III, 39). It is sometimes urged that Philo's thought may

have been derived from the Greek notion of mantic frenzy, and so cannot be taken to represent Palestinian Judaism. Yet some early portions of the Mishnah contain very similar statements, as when it is claimed that if one says the Torah is not from heaven one has no share in the future world (*Sanhedrin*, X, 1); and even if he admits the heavenly origin of the Torah in general but holds that so much as a single verse was of human origin he despises the eternal word (*Sanhedrin*, 99*a*). The written law had been given to Moses by God, and the only question was whether it had been given all at once or roll by roll (*Gittin*, 60*a*). A kindred idea of mechanical inspiration is clearly claimed for Ezra and his five companions in their work of reproducing the lost records of the law (II Esdr. 14:24–26, 38–48). Thus not only the thought content of Scripture but its very letter had been the subject of divine attention. Whether these opinions were held by the scribes as early as the beginning of the first century A.D. might of course, so far as the above references are concerned, be questioned, but the probabilities seem to favor an early date for the origin of these conceptions. They were a natural complement to the current idea of the canon, and there was a scriptural suggestion for them in such a passage as Exod. 32:16: "And the tables were the work of God and the writing was the writing of God graven upon the tables." Moreover, the thought of heavenly tables, writings, and books appears in non-canonical Jewish literature at a relatively early date (cf. Enoch 93:2; 104:12; 106:19; Jub. 1:29; 3:10, 31; 4:5, 32; 5:13; etc.).

Under these circumstances it is not strange that the interpreter supposed himself to be dealing with a body of writing deserving the highest reverence and containing the essence of divine wisdom. One sees evidence of the deep-seated reverence for the law even among the populace, when Cumanus is compelled, in order to avoid a serious riot, to behead the soldier who had wantonly destroyed a copy of the "laws of Moses"—a practical instance of Josephus' assertion that a Jew would defend his sacred book even at the cost of his life (*Ant.*, XX, 5, 4; *Apion*, I, 8). The recognition of the law as divine wisdom is found in pre-Christian times in Ecclesiasticus 24:23. In the midst of a eulogy on wisdom

the writer declares: "All these things are the book of the covenant of the most high God, the law which Moses commanded us for a heritage unto the assemblies of Jacob" (cf. Wisd. Sol. 18:4; Baruch 4:1). There are many rabbinical sayings in the same vein, and they probably perpetuate opinions which were widely current at the beginning of our era. For example, in *Pirqe Aboth* it is said that the Torah gives to those who practice it life in this world and in the world to come (VI, 7), it is the instrument by which the world was created (III, 23), and it is one of the three supports of the world (I, 2). As the law existed before the foundation of the world, so it was to endure eternally—an idea appropriated by the writer of Matthew (5:18; cf. Luke 16:17; *Megillah*, I, 7). The scribe believed that he had in this sacred literature an embodiment of practically all that God himself signified for the thought of Israel.

It is easy to imagine the type of interpretation that must accompany such presuppositions as we have already noted. But these were further supplemented by a practical consideration which contributed another determining factor to the general result. By the side of the written law an oral teaching had arisen to meet the practical necessities of life as conditions had changed from time to time. As soon as any disposition showed itself to deny the authority of this oral law, as was the case when the opposition between Sadducees and Pharisees developed,[7] proofs for its binding character had to be produced. These were found in two directions: first in claiming that its content had been handed down orally from Moses, and second, in a proof-text demonstration that its authority was supported by the written law. When once the principle of erecting "a hedge about the law" was established, interpretative skill was capable of almost unlimited expansion either in proving the validity of existing customs or in instituting new ones.[8]

[7] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, XIII, 10, 6.

[8] As illustrating the use of Moses' name in this connection, see *Pirqe Aboth*, I, 1: "Moses received Torah from Sinai and he delivered it to Joshua and Joshua to the elders and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the great synagogue. They said three things, Be deliberate in judgment, and raise up many disciples, and make a fence to Torah."

Tradition credits Hillel with having formulated seven exegetical rules—increased by Rabbi Ishmael to thirteen—as the basis of interpretation. They were in the main simply a set of plain logical principles. The first, for example,[9] was called "light and heavy" (קל וחומר), which means an inference proceeding from the less to the greater, or vice versa. A single illustration may be cited from Mekilta on Exod. 21:24. The Sadducees took the law of "eye for eye" literally (evidently its primary meaning), while rabbinical interpreters held that the offender might pay an equivalent in money. This was argued on the basis of Exod. 21:29 f., where it is stated that one who was liable to death penalty because his beast had killed a person might redeem himself with a money payment. Now paying a penalty with death was certainly a greater matter than paying it with an eye, hence if a pecuniary punishment could be substituted in the former case how much more must it be permissible in the latter.

But interpretation was often far more artificial. The scribes sometimes recognized the plain meaning of a passage but supplemented it with midrashic meaning. To illustrate, Deut. 24:16 ("the fathers shall not be put to death for [על] the children," etc.) clearly signifies that the members of a criminal's family shall not be liable for his punishment. But "for" (על) was taken in the sense of "through the testimony of" (בעדות, so *Onkelos* and *Sanhedrin*, 27*b*) and made to support a rule excusing the relatives from giving testimony. The haggadic midrashim, as was natural, took even more liberties with the original than did the halachic, a fact which is sometimes illustrated by different interpretations of the same passage. Thus the use of hewn stones in the construction of the temple was felt to need justification in view of Exod. 20:25: "And if thou make me an altar of stone thou shalt not build it of hewn stones, for if thou lift up thy tool upon it thou hast polluted it." By placing stress upon the object "it" (אתהן) the prohibition was seen to apply to the altar only, not to the temple. But the haggadic explanation of why the iron tool carries pollution with it on the altar runs thus: iron abridges

[9] The full list, with illustrations, is given by Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, 2d ed., 1902, pp. 123 ff.

life, the altar prolongs it; iron causes destruction and misery, the altar produces reconciliation between God and man; and therefore the use of iron cannot be allowed in making the altar.[10] When this method of interpretation was used to elaborate Old Testament narrative, fancy recognized practically no bounds.[11]

Some interpreters actually altered the text when such changes were necessary to make the language of scripture harmonize with current notions. Particularly is this true of the targumists, though the practice is by no means confined to them. This liberty was probably not felt to be at all inconsistent with reverence for the scripture, since the interpreter's meaning was assumed to be the meaning God had intended. So the vocalization of a word might be changed and a hidden meaning be thereby disclosed, as in Exod 32:16, which speaks of the Decalogue graven upon tables of stone. *Pirqe Aboth*, VI, 2, adds: "Read not חָרוּת (graven) but חֵרוּת (freedom), for thou wilt find no freeman but him who is occupied in learning of Torah." Extending this idea of a hidden meaning, the letters of a word were taken as initials for a series of words to make a new sentence conveying an entirely new thought. Thus the letters of the first word of the Decalogue (אנכי) made a sentence which read: "I myself have written [the Torah] and delivered it" (אנא נפשי כתבית יהבית).[12] A still more fruitful method of discovering a hidden significance was to find it in the numerical values of the letters, a custom which appears in the New Testament.[13]

These, we may believe, were among the most characteristic features of scribal interpretation in New Testament times.[14] For the modern interpreter there seems to be very little here that calls for imitation and much that is entirely valueless. The scribes viewed their task from presuppositions which are in the main no longer tenable and employed many methods which are utterly

[10] Cf. Mielziner, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[11] See Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, II, 1, 342 ff.

[12] See *Jewish Ency.*, art. "Notarikon."

[13] Rev. 13:18. See also *Pirqe Aboth*, VI, 2, and note in Taylor's second edition, p. 62; also *Jewish Ency.*, art. "Gematria."

[14] The New Testament writers' relation to these exegetical methods will be considered on a future occasion.

unscientific according to modern modes of thinking. Present study, which emphasizes a true historical perspective, can no longer regard the Old Testament as primarily a book of rules for use in legalistic and casuistic speculation. Its chief value is now found by recognizing that it is the record of attainment in religious experience by a people whose genius for religion was of a peculiarly noble type. It would probably be quite unfair to the Jews of Jesus' day to say that this element in their thought of their sacred writings was wholly ignored. The spirit of noble religious leaders of the past was doubtless a source of inspiration in the life of many a pious Jew, as it certainly was in the life of Jesus; but unfortunately professional interpretation seems to have placed the chief stress upon far less important matters. In this the modern interpreter may find a warning lest he too makes his interpretation unworthy of the book he is interpreting.

"OBEDIENCE AND NOT SACRIFICE"

AN EXPOSITION OF ISA. 1:18–20

PROFESSOR WALTER R. BETTERIDGE
Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N.Y.

Historical crises furnish the occasion for many of the great revelations in human society. Most of the inspiring truths which have been received by men have flashed across their minds in the white heat of some transforming experience. This principle applies to the truths of the Bible as well as to other literatures. Our interest is attracted to these words of Isaiah because they seem, as do so many of the utterances of this great man of God, to bear the marks of his wonderful experiences. The form of this utterance is significant. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the introductory formula, rendered in our versions, "come now let us reason together," we turn our attention to the four conditional sentences. They all begin with the same conditional particle in the original and form an almost perfect stanza of four lines with a definite rhythmical movement. Our version renders the conditional particle twice by "though" and twice by "if," and the slightly different thought in the two groups probably justifies this modification. But the form makes it almost necessary to conclude that the prophet, when he originally uttered these words, intended that they should convey four distinct conclusions, dependent each one of them upon the condition which is laid down. Thus interpreted we find in the first couplet the statement that no matter how serious may be their sins Jehovah will forgive them, and in the second couplet the statement that the people who are addressed have the choice open before them to render willing obedience and to secure the resultant prosperity, "if ye be willing and obey, ye shall eat the fruit of the land," or to disobey and to be visited with the ultimate penalty, "if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall eat the sword," with a change in the voice of the verb involving only a slight change in the vocalization of the original, which

seems to bring out in bolder contrast the original laconic utterance of the prophet.

But it is objected to this interpretation, that it would be impossible for Isaiah to offer such complete and thoroughgoing pardon for the sin of the people in this connection, or to use the words of one of the most recent English expositors of the book of Isaiah, "the language of promise and forgiveness is quite out of keeping with the stern logic of a legal plea." It is therefore proposed by many of the ablest of recent interpreters, following the lead of Wellhausen—who, in his *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, revived an earlier suggestion—to translate the apodoses in the first couplet of this paragraph as questions expecting a negative answer, "shall they become white as snow? shall they become as wool?" A modified form of this theory was introduced by Duhm, who translated affirmatively but regarded the words as ironical and hence in no sense declaratory or promissory. But with all due deference to the weight of authority in favor of this opinion, it does not seem to be tenable. Against it may be urged first of all the argument from the form of the statement already referred to. In this connection an interrogation without the sign of interrogation is contrary to all analogy and should be accepted only if there is no other satisfactory interpretation which can be given. Again "the stern logic of the legal plea" does not apply to the situation. The only reason for thinking of this passage as a legal plea at all is due to a misinterpretation of the words rendered "come now let us reason together, saith Jehovah." This translation does, it is true, seem to justify the view that this is a formal judicial proceeding. But this is not the necessary nor indeed the natural interpretation of these words. The root occurs in the original in the *Niphal*-stem which is found in only two other places in the Old Testament, and unfortunately in neither of these passages is its meaning perfectly clear. Cheyne rendered in his commentary on Isaiah, "Come now let us bring our dispute to an end," and, while he partially receded from this translation later, there is much to be said in its favor. A more exact paraphrase might be suggested in reading somewhat as follows, "Come now let us state the truth as to the basis of our mutual relations," or "Let us state the facts

of the case," and then Jehovah proceeds to set forth the promise of pardon and the conditions of deliverance.

But further, the hypothesis that these words are a formal judicial statement rests upon the supposition that this paragraph, vss. 18–20, is an independent section with no connection or only the loosest kind of connection with the preceding. This view, though widely accepted, does not commend itself. The introductory clause, as well as the alternative set before the people in vss. 19, 20, demands a close connection with something that has gone before. The "reasoning" is not some new thing, it is rather a plea or a demand that the right and proper conclusions be drawn from alternatives which have been previously outlined. In other words, it is imperative that we should look for the statement of what it is that is to be obeyed or disobeyed. Some argument must have preceded to which this paragraph brings the conclusion. In view of this fact, it seems unnecessary to look elsewhere for the statement of the conditions, when the preceding section, vss. 10–17, expresses them in the clearest and most explicit terms possible. We conclude therefore that the passage in vss. 10–20 is to be regarded as one continuous discourse and argument of which vss. 18–20 form the impassioned conclusion. The forgiveness which is promised in vs. 18 is not unmotived, and so, impossible to the conception of the prophet. It is conditioned in the first place upon obedience, as is plainly stated in vss. 19, 20, and in the next place it is conditioned upon obedience to certain positive, distinctly stated requirements. It is demanded, therefore, if we would understand aright the teaching in vs. 18, that we examine carefully the argument of which it is the conclusion.

Now this argument or plea which is presented in vss. 11–17 falls into two parts, vs. 10 being the introductory formula or exordium. In vss. 11–15 the prophet describes with considerable wealth of detail the practice of the people, a practice evidently performed with a view to secure the favor and forgiveness which are so freely promised in vss. 18, 19. It seems best to make the division at the end rather than in the middle of vs. 15, which seems to be the favorite method of division at the present time. The chief argument in support of this division seems to be rhythmical rather

than logical, for the change of thought certainly comes first in vs. 16. But inasmuch as it is very generally admitted that the argument in vss. 11–15 can hardly be in its original form, for it is in all probability enlarged and overloaded as a result either of editorial activity or of the incorporation of marginal notes into the text, it is not wise to make the division against the demands of logic. Now the practice of the people is sacrificial and ritualistic. It is in the highest degree precise and elaborate. If practices of this kind could secure the favor of Jehovah then certainly the people to whom Isaiah was addressing himself would be justified in expecting that their zeal would result in averting the threatening danger and in securing for themselves the blessing and prosperity which they desired. But the prophet declares that their hopes are futile, their practices are useless and worse than useless, they are absolutely worthless for the purpose for which they intend them. Jehovah has no regard for the sacrifices and all the ritualistic services, nor does he attend to the prayers by which they accompany and explain the purpose of the sacrifice.

Instead of approaching him by the way of the ritual he demands that they come to him by the way of repentance and reformation, and this reformation is to manifest itself primarily in the social sphere. For it was in the social sphere in the broadest sense of the term that the sin of the people was most distinctly manifested—this whole exhortation is addressed to the rulers of Sodom, to the people of Gomorrah, vs. 10. In addition to the requirements which are stated in general terms, the specific demands are for the practice of justice in dealing with the helpless and dependent members of the community, the widow and the fatherless, and, in order to secure this end, it is specifically demanded that the oppressor, that is the man who uses his power and his position to deal unjustly with the weaker members of society, be restrained (reading with RV marg. "set right the oppressor" in vs. 17 instead of the less probable text "relieve the oppressed"). This is the alternative which is set before the people and which furnishes the basis for the statements in vss. 18–20. Obedience to these moral demands will bring from Jehovah the forgiveness and complete removal of their sins, while disobedience, which we may assume will manifest

itself primarily in refusal to heed these moral demands and in obstinate persistence in the sacrificial ritual, or in other words in the continuance in man-made methods of seeking the divine favor instead of following the divinely ordained plan, will inevitably result in complete destruction.

And now we must put the question as to whether it is possible to ascertain the situation which furnished the occasion for this significant teaching of Isaiah. It must be acknowledged at once that no definite answer can be given from the consideration of vss. 10–20 alone. But fortunately we are not left without a clue. The passage vss. 10–20 is connected very closely in its literary form with the preceding section, vss. 2–9, for the reference to Sodom and Gomorrah in vs. 9 must have occasioned the choice of the words, "ye rulers of Sodom, ye people of Gomorrah," in vs. 10. And it seems probable that the connection is more than literary. Therefore we propose to employ the description in vss. 2–9 to ascertain the circumstances under which the exhortation in vss. 10–20 arose. The description is most vivid. Judah and Jerusalem have persisted in their course of rebellion and disobedience until at last they have brought upon themselves the most terrific punishment, which has reduced them to the verge of annihilation. They have escaped this ultimate penalty for the present at least by the saving grace of Jehovah, who by leaving them a very small remnant has saved them from the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. The description is so realistic that one turns naturally and almost instinctively to the situation produced in Judah by the invasion of Sennacherib in 701 to find the occasion of this prophetic utterance. This dating of the prophecy has not won universal acceptance, but it must be admitted that with our present knowledge no other definite situation can be suggested in which this description would be applicable. But for our purpose it is not imperatively necessary that we should decide between 701 and some of the other occasions in which it is thought this oracle might have arisen. We are concerned only with the fact that on some occasion when Jerusalem was on the verge of complete destruction and when the final blow which they dreaded might still fall, the prophet addressed to them the words of warning and promise which are contained in vss.

10–20. The only argument of any consequence which can be urged against this connection of vss. 2–9 with 10–20 is based upon the hypothesis that the elaborate ritual and the careful and abundant sacrifice which the prophet condemns would hardly be characteristic of a situation such as that described in the foregoing section. For such practices as these, it is argued, there is need of a wealthy, prosperous, care-free people. In a time of distress sacrifice and ritual would be neglected. But this objection rests on an incorrect estimate of the power of the religious impulses in national life. It is not necessarily true that it is in times of prosperity and peace that the religious rites are observed with the most scrupulous care. These religious rites may be observed in the recklessness of despair, or more frequently they may be due to the desperate efforts of a people, who are on the point of being overthrown, by the very excess of their ritual to avert the wrath of the deity and to secure the remission of the penalty. This view may be supported by an abundance of evidence both psychological and historical. And it affords the most satisfactory interpretation of the conditions under which Isaiah enunciated the important truths with which this division of chap. 1 ends.

Retracing our steps, we maintain that in some time of great national peril, when the kingdom of Judah had barely escaped annihilation as the result of an overwhelming invasion which had swept up to the very walls of Jerusalem, so that the city herself was on the point of falling into the hands of the besieging army —though as yet she held out against the superior force that was pitted against her, her rescue being regarded as explicable only as the result of the grace of Jehovah—the prophet Isaiah sets forth certain fundamental principles of the divine government. The people were seeking to win the favor of the deity by an abundant ritual and were in a state bordering on frenzy in their excess of religious zeal. They were ready to go to almost any length in order to avert the wrath of Jehovah which they felt was resting upon them. A parallel to their state of mind and their activity may be seen perhaps in that dreadful act of the king of Moab who when hard pressed by the besieging armies of Judah and Israel "took his eldest son and offered him for a burnt offering upon the

wall" (II Kings 3:27). They seemed to feel that by the very multitude and value of their offerings they could change the attitude of Jehovah and save their threatened national life. And in the midst of this activity stands the prophet Isaiah, sympathizing with their desire as we may well believe, for all indications point to his firm belief in the deliverance of Jerusalem, but wholly opposed to their methods. And in this period of distress and perplexity, there flashes across the consciousness of the prophet (or in Biblical phrase, "the word of Jehovah came to him") the conviction that all these processes have no moral worth, they do not win the favor of Jehovah. Rather he is gracious and willing to forgive and restore his people if only they will obey him, and by the life of obedience and faith give expression to the fundamental purposes of his kingdom. And the simplest and most direct way to make this expression is by the observance of justice and righteousness in all their relations with one another and especially with those who by misfortune or bereavement are deprived of the ordinary and natural means of securing justice for themselves. Thus interpreted, this utterance of Isaiah comes to stand side by side with that great utterance of the prophet Habakkuk, arising out of similar if not the same circumstances, "the just, or the righteous, shall live by his faithfulness," that is, by his steady adherence to the divine plan and purpose for the government of the world and society.

The inferences which may be fairly drawn from this teaching of the prophet are worthy of a moment's consideration. The attitude toward the sacrificial system and indeed toward sacrifice in general is plain and unmistakable. Whatever worth may attach to it as the means of expressing the adoration and worship of the individual or the community, it has no worth as a means of winning the favor of the deity, and least of all can it secure forgiveness of sins. In this Isaiah is in full accord with the best teaching of all the Old Testament prophets. Amos declares that Jehovah wishes the people to give over their sacrifices and instead to practice justice and righteousness. Hosea says, "For I desire goodness and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God *more than* (or perhaps better, *and not*) burnt offerings." And even more positively Jeremiah a century later says: "For I spake not unto your fathers,

nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this thing I command them, saying, Hearken unto my voice, and I will be your God and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the way that I command you that it may be well with you." Always and everywhere the demand of Jehovah upon his people is for obedience and faith. This is not in any way to minimize or to ignore the fact of sin or its guilt. Sin is abhorrent to Jehovah and must be punished, but the punishment falls upon him who commits the sin in the first place. The people whom the prophet of the exile seeks to comfort are told that they have received "from Jehovah's hands double for all their sins." Sin may be removed only by an act of divine pardoning grace, the conditions being repentance, obedience, and faith. The people to whom Isaiah was addressing himself in the passage before us had been and were being punished sorely for their sins, but repentance and obedience would certainly be followed by forgiveness, for the mouth of Jehovah had spoken it. This principle applies in the prophetic teaching to the community rather than to the individual, but it is probably not too much to say that in so far as the prophets considered the individual in their thought, they would have maintained the applicability of the principle to the individual as well as to the community.

Second only in plainness to this teaching on the subject of sacrifice is the teaching that sins may be forgiven. Isaiah and his associates anticipated the noble words of the creed, for they believed "in the forgiveness of sins." Jehovah was a God of grace and mercy and he was always ready to forgive his people if they returned to him in repentance and obedient faith. It is true that Isaiah like many of his contemporaries did not have much hope that repentance and obedience would be forthcoming. The people were so set in their interpretation of the conditions governing the relations with Jehovah that they were not likely to accept the interpretation which the prophets gave, even though they set it forth as the direct teaching of Jehovah himself. But they all agreed that it might be possible to secure the forgiveness of sins if they would only seek Jehovah. Even Amos, the most relentless of them all, says more than once in the course of his prophecy,

"Seek Jehovah and live." "Hate the evil and love the good, and establish justice in the gate: it may be that Jehovah the God of Hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph."

It is scarcely necessary to add the further statement that the righteousness demanded by the prophets as the fruits of repentance was public righteousness; not primarily, if at all, did they think of the righteousness of the heart, which would find its manifestation only in the inner relations of the individual soul to his God. They were dealing with the community, and the necessary evidences of repentance in public life were in their judgment the practice of justice, righteousness, and mercy in the relations of man with man. And in this respect it was only natural that emphasis should be laid especially upon the manifestation of these qualities toward those members of the community who were not in a position to demand them or to inflict vengeance upon those who wronged them. Social righteousness was for them, then, the necessary and natural evidence of repentance and hence the indispensable condition for forgiveness and the continued manifestation of the divine favor.

Concluding note.—It has not seemed necessary or wise to burden the body of this paper with a multitude of references to opposing or supporting authorities. But it may not be amiss in this concluding note to indicate the judgment of a few of the leading authorities on the points at issue in the foregoing interpretation. A decided majority of modern interpreters agree in separating vss. 18–20 from the foregoing argument, or at the most allowing only a loose editorial connection. The names of Box, Cheyne, Dillmann-Kittel, Duhm, Glazebrook, Guthe, Hackmann, Kent (probably), Marti, and Whitehouse may be given. Of those who connect vss. 18–20 closely with the preceding as is done in this article may be mentioned W. E. Barnes, Mitchell, Skinner, George Adam Smith, and Staerk. The alignment is similar though not the same in the interpretation of vs. 18. Those who take the verse as either a question or ironical, following Michaelis and some earlier scholars, are Box, Duhm, Glazebrook, Guthe, Marti, Wellhausen, and Whitehouse. Hackmann's interesting suggestion differs from the foregoing but is like them in denying that there is any promise of forgiveness. The traditional declaratory interpretation is retained, though often for different reasons than those advanced in the foregoing article, by Burney, W. E. Barnes, Dillmann-Kittel, Kent, McFadyen (with some hesitation), Mitchell, Skinner (with some hesitation), G. A. Smith, and Staerk.

THE TEACHER IN THE EARLY CHURCH

REV. J. W. BAILEY, PH.D.
Pella, Iowa

There is today a widespread and insistent demand that the church address itself more seriously to the performance of its educational function. Church leaders recognize the pertinence both of the demand and its implied criticism and are busily engaged in the effort to provide ways and means for an advance movement in this field. By what organization of forces can the matter best be carried to a successful issue? As contributing to the solution of this problem it may be of some value to indicate the emphasis placed by the early church upon its educational mission, and the provision it made for its accomplishment. The evidence is not abundant, but when brought together it is clear and reflects an interesting and instructive situation.

Jesus was pre-eminently the teacher. This was his common title both among his disciples and others.[1] And the church preserved as his parting instruction to his disciples a command in which it is implied that teaching is one of the primary means by which the gospel is to be extended throughout the world.[2] Even if we cannot claim for these words the authority of Jesus it is at any rate significant that the traditions of the church attribute to him this emphasis upon its educational function. The church understood that the work of instruction in which it engaged had been explicitly enjoined by its Master. He had committed to it a twofold task, the proclamation of the gospel and the instruction

[1] See especially Mark 5:35; 10:17, 20, 35; 12:19, 32; Matt. 23:8; 26:18; Luke 22:11; John 3:2; 6:25; 11:28; 13:13, 14. Jesus is spoken of as teacher 48 times in the gospels, nor is it without significance that his followers are uniformly (274 times) called disciples or learners.

[2] Matt. 28:18, 19. That Jesus left instructions with his disciples is not only a priori probable but is also supported by ample evidence. These words are not manufactured out of whole cloth, though Jesus be not responsible for their present form.

of disciples. That this instruction was to be in charge of a particular group or class is here neither stated nor implied. It is a ministry of teaching rather than a teaching ministry that is reflected. However, that such a distinct class or ministry widely prevailed in the early church is quite sufficiently attested. Paul is our best witness.

In I Cor. 12:28 the apostle writes, "God placed in the church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers," etc. He is here enumerating the various groups and gifts that are active in the church, and just as definitely as he calls one group apostles and another group prophets does he describe a third group as teachers. That he has in mind a distinct class is perhaps even more explicitly indicated by vs. 29, "are *all* teachers?" a rhetorical question which he expects his readers to answer in the negative. This same conception of the teachers as a distinct group is involved also in the general argument which prevails in this section and especially in this chapter of the epistle. As the body is composed of many members and is yet one body, so the church, though one, contains those who possess varied gifts and perform various functions in the church life and activity. One of these distinct groups with a particular function consists of teachers. Further evidence of this is derived also from the manner in which the various groups are mentioned. Following the teachers five of the charismatic gifts are indicated rather than the individuals who are characterized by the possession of such gifts. Comparing 12:8–10, 30; 14:6, 26, it appears that this list of five is not exhaustive but representative, and their relative significance is either uncertain or unimportant. This involves the strong probability that the *personnel* of these groups was neither so definite nor so constant as was that of the first three named, in which teachers are included. That the teachers constituted a distinct group is further indicated by the fact that they are assigned a definite rank in the church's ministry. Only the apostles and prophets, who are given higher rank than they, share with them this distinction. In 12:28 they are given third position, and 12:29 and 14:6 reflect the same conception. The apostle was dealing with a situation in which the relative importance of the various charismatic gifts was under discussion.

Accordingly he can hardly have used such definite language as he here employs except with careful precision. He must have meant to specifically assign the teacher the third rank in the threefold ministry. Thus the evidence is quite uniform that the teachers composed a distinct group associated with apostles and prophets and very sharply distinguished from the promiscuous and variable groups possessing gifts of less importance. Rom. 12:6, 7 was written not very long after I Corinthians, and though less explicit reflects a similar situation. The teaching gift is recognized as a distinct charism, and those possessing it are exhorted to faithfulness in its use.

The manner in which Paul speaks in I Corinthians of the appointment of these various groups indicates that he is thinking of the church in general. The apostle and prophet belonged to the whole church rather than to a particular congregation[3] and the teacher is included with them. It is further true that Romans was written to a congregation with which Paul had had nothing to do. The evidence justifies the statement then that, in the period in which I Corinthians and Romans were written, there was not simply in the Pauline churches but in the church as a whole a definite and distinct teaching ministry which was understood to be of divine appointment. It gave itself to the specific task of instruction. This was regarded as its peculiar function.

In Eph. 4:11 Paul again names those groups which have been appointed to a ministry in the church. Apostles and prophets are again assigned the place they occupy in the list in I Corinthians. There is a difference, however, in that evangelists are inserted after prophets, and pastors are associated with teachers. This grouping is unique in early Christian literature and we need not stop to consider all the problems it raises. But the naming of pastors and teachers together does not of necessity involve their identification. It only suggests that as the first three classes may be grouped together as those whose task is the proclamation of the gospel, so the pastors and teachers may be associated as those whose task was edification rather than evangelism.[4] The point of present interest

[3] Gal. 1:8; Rom. 1:5; Eph. 2:20; 3:5; cf. Acts 11:27; I Cor. 4:15; Did., chaps. 11, 13.

[4] Cf. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, I, 430–32.

is that this passage supports the evidence already considered in that it reflects a definite teaching ministry, declares it of divine appointment, and assigns it a distinct standing in the church. In Eph. 2:20 (cf. 3:5), the apostles and prophets are called the foundation upon which the church has been builded, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone. This is of significance as distinctly not including teachers and thus implies for them a position of less importance, so far agreeing with the other evidence.

In I Tim. 2:7 and II Tim. 1:11 Paul is referred to as herald, apostle, and teacher. These terms are intended to describe his varied activity without drawing sharp distinctions or describing definite groups to which he belonged. In I Tim. 3:2 it is said the bishop must be apt to teach. In II Tim. 2:2 Timothy is told to commit the word unto faithful men who shall be able to teach others also. In I Tim. 5:17 it is the elder to whom the teaching gift is referred. In each of these passages the right to teach is impliedly limited to certain individuals.[5] If some who have ability as teachers are engaged also in other duties this is not contradictory of the evidence previously examined but only indicates the development.

The fact then is very clear that in the last decade of Paul's career there existed throughout the church a definite teaching ministry, recognized by the church as of divine appointment, and occupying a place of importance next to the apostles and prophets.[6]

The question naturally arises whether such a distinct ministry can be traced back to an earlier period. A reasonable interpretation of the evidence furnishes an affirmative answer. In both Corinthians and Ephesians, where Paul gives a list of those who have been divinely appointed in the church, the atmosphere of the passage

[5] According to I Tim. 2:12 women must not be allowed to teach; cf. Col. 3:16.

[6] The subapostolic writings reflect in general the same situation. In Did. 11:3 we have apostle and prophet, and in 13:1, 2 and 15:1, 2, prophet and teacher. In the Martyrdom of Polycarp 16:2 Polycarp is spoken of as apostolic and prophetic teacher. In Hermas, Sim. iii. 5, 1 the list is composed of apostles and bishops, and teachers and deacons. In Sim. ix. 15, 4 it is prophets and deacons, apostles and teachers, and in 16, 5 and 25, 2, apostles and teachers. Although the prophet is thus listed but once by Hermas, the whole of Mand. xi is concerned with the method of discriminating between a true and a false prophet. Harnack thinks that he implies the order, apostles, prophets, teachers. See in general, *Expansion of Christianity*, I, Book iii, chap. i.

as well as the form of statement suggests that he is thinking of a situation that prevailed for an indefinite period before the time of his writing. Moreover, in the light of the express testimony of Corinthians, Gal. 6:6–8 may be claimed as evidence for this earlier time. That instruction was given is unequivocally stated and is expressly attributed to a particular individual instructor. In agreement with this, though of little independent value, are Gal. 1:12 and I Thess. 5:12, 19, 20; and Luke 1:4 and Acts 18:25 look in the same direction. But Acts 13:1 gives explicit testimony to the existence of teachers in the church at Antioch in its early days. The passage also implies the order, apostles, prophets, teachers, as suggested by our other evidence. The particles used furnish some ground for the suggestion of Harnack that Paul belonged to the group of teachers and Barnabas to the prophets.[7] The existence of teachers earlier than this is not anywhere attested. They are here mentioned as if they were a well-known class but this may be a reflection only of the situation known to the author of Acts in the period of its writing.

As bearing upon the origin of the teaching ministry we should not overlook the fact that it was uniformly regarded as one of the charismata of the spirit.[8] This suggests its beginning in the church some time after its earliest days (cf. Acts 19:2, 6), though it is to be noted that Corinthians includes the apostles in the list of those who had been so endowed and appointed.[9] With this agrees also the implication of the statement in Eph. 2:20 that the apostles and prophets were the foundation upon which the church had been builded. In the context it is suggested that the basis of this fundamental significance was the fact that they were the recipients of special divine revelation. The content of the revelation was the universality of the gospel. This means that Paul is not thinking

[7] Cf. also Acts 4:36 and I Cor. 14:3 in the Greek and see I Tim. 2:7; II Tim. 1:11; Acts 11:26. Prophets are mentioned in Jerusalem even earlier: Acts 11:27; cf. 2:16; 15:32; 19:6; also Matt. 10:41.

[8] See especially I Cor. 12:28, 29; 14:6, 26; Rom. 12:6, 7; I Thess. 5:19, 20; I Tim. 4:13–16. Cf. Hermas, Sim. ix. 25, 2, "The apostles and teachers who herald unto all the world and teach the word of the Lord as they have received the holy spirit."

[9] But on this phase of the matter see Gal. 1:11, 12; Rom. 1:5; cf. Gal. 1:19; I Cor. 2:10.

primarily of the original Twelve but of the later and larger group including himself. The apostle is undoubtedly framing his thought in part upon the facts of history. This would imply that the historical precedence of apostle and prophet was partly the ground of their logical importance. This would further indicate that the teacher was considered a later development in the church than the foundation ministry and this is in line with our other evidence. In the earliest days of the church the teaching was in charge of the apostles,[10] and a distinct class of teachers is first mentioned at Antioch, the first headquarters of gentile Christianity. The suggestion is obvious that a definite teaching ministry arose, perhaps on gentile soil, as soon as the growing church had assumed such proportions that the apostles could no longer exercise immediate supervision over it all.[11] Such a ministry came to prevail, perhaps soon, in the entire church.

The status of the teacher is reflected in part by the evidence we have already considered. The position was a coveted one[12] as might have been expected in the light of the well-known standing of the teacher in Judaism. The matter appears in clearer light, however, on a more careful examination of Gal. 6:6–8. In vs. 6 the apostle writes: "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things." This verb, "communicate," is found but four other times in Pauline writings: Rom. 12:13; 15:27; Phil. 4:15, and I Tim. 5:22. In the first three of these it connotes the idea of giving rather than receiving. In the second and third it designates a contribution of a material character, and in the first one is associated with such a contribution. This idea is not only consistent with the present passage but is in fact the only one that fits. This interpretation is supported also by the apostle's use of the corresponding noun.[13] The substantive "good things" occurs but twice elsewhere in Paul, Rom. 3:8; 10:15. He prevailingly uses the singular to refer to

[10] Acts 2:42; 4:2, 18; 5:21, 25, 28.

[11] Cf. Acts 6:1–4; 14:23; Titus 1:5.

[12] James 3:1; I Tim. 1:7; see also Matt. 23:6–8; I Cor. 12:31; cf. Barnabas, 1:8: "not as a teacher but as one of yourselves I will show you a few things"; 4:9: "not as a teacher but as is befitting one who loves."

[13] Rom. 15:26; II Cor. 8:4; 9:13; Phil. 1:5; cf. 4:15.

the good in the abstract. The use of the plural to connote the idea of material goods seems to have been common and is found in various writings.[14] It is best suited to this context. Thus in this verse the apostle makes a plea for the material support of the teacher, at least in part, by the one who receives the benefit of his instruction. This exhortation is enforced in the seventh and eighth verses by an appeal to the fundamental principle that one who invests his life and the rewards of his toil in the material side of life is preparing for himself deterioration and ruin, but the one who invests them in spiritual interests will reap the reward of the largest possible life.

This interpretation of the apostle's language is corroborated by several lines of evidence. In the first place it may be noticed that appeal is here made to the principle of sowing and reaping. Besides this passage Paul makes use of this metaphor twice. In II Cor. 9:6 he enforces by it his appeal to the Corinthian Christians for a liberal contribution to the fund which he had been collecting for the poor of Judea (cf. 9:1; I Cor. 16:1; Rom. 15:26). He declares that if the Christians of Corinth will make a generous offering of their material goods they may expect a correspondingly large return in spiritual blessing, and a small contribution will bring but a small return in spiritual things. In I Cor. 9:11 there is a more explicit application of this same principle, stated, however, in elliptical form. The apostle is writing of the support which he had a right to expect from the Corinthian disciples and asks whether it is any great matter that he reap of their carnal things when he has sowed unto them spiritual things. The evidence is thus beyond dispute that in both Corinthian passages the principle of sowing and reaping is used to enforce an appeal that those who have reaped from others spiritual advantages should respond by making to them a contribution of their material goods. Such is its use here.

The apostle further supports his appeal with another consideration. In the last passage to which reference was made he suggests that they who have received from others spiritual things do only their duty when they make a return of material goods unto those who have thus been the means of their spiritual enrichment. In

[14] Luke 1:53; 12:18, 19; 16:25; cf. vs. 19; see also Sirach 14:4; Wisdom 7:11.

Rom. 15:26, 27 he states in the most explicit terms that since Macedonia and Achaia have been made partakers of the spiritual things of Jerusalem they have become the debtors of the latter and are under obligation to minister to them in material things.[15] The statement is so made that it may be taken as the expression of a general principle applicable to all similar situations. This principle is also stated from the opposite angle of vision. Those who labor in spiritual things have a right to expect material support from those who are blessed by their ministry. As an apostle, Paul had refrained from urging this right upon the Thessalonians (I Thess. 2:6–9) simply from an overmastering desire to allow nothing to interfere with the success of his labors. In I Cor. 9:11 he distinctly claims this right and asserts he had not urged it upon the Corinthians from the same motives which controlled him in the Thessalonian ministry. He has not, however, refused support from other churches and has allowed them from time to time to contribute to his need.[16] The apostle declares moreover that the Lord ordained that those who proclaimed the gospel should live of the gospel,[17] and from I Cor. 9:12 we have the clear intimation that it was the general practice so to do. A comparison of I Cor. 9:9–11 and I Tim. 5:17, 18 makes clear that in the latter passage there is an appeal to this same general principle in urging financial support of the "elders that rule well, especially those who labor in word and *teaching*." Those who are so qualified and thus use their time and energy have a right to expect "double honor," i.e., unusually liberal support.[18]

Thus the apostle's general position in the matter is so clearly reflected in these passages that we can but interpret the Galatian passage in the light of it. This is just to say that there is ample evidence that in the days of Paul's greatest labors a class of teachers existed in the Pauline churches that gave so much time and energy to the specific work of instruction that they had to be supported

[15] Cf. Barnabas 19:8: "Share in all things with thy neighbor and say nothing is thy own, for if you are partners in the incorruptible how much more in the corruptible."

[16] II Cor. 11:7, 8; Phil. 4:10–18.

[17] I Cor. 9:14; cf. vss. 8–10, and Matt. 10:10; Luke 10:7.

[18] See also Rom. 12:13 and cf. Did. 11:1, 2; 13:2.

in part at least by the other members of the church. Since Paul understood that this principle had been established by the Lord (Jesus) and since he reflects his knowledge of it in the earliest writing from his pen (I Thess. 2:6–9), it does not seem too much to say that we have a reflection of the uniform practice in the Pauline churches perhaps from the very beginning. Though not conclusive the evidence tends very strongly to show that such was also the general practice prevailing in the church as a whole.

The findings of this discussion may be summarized in the following propositions:

1. The early church considered religious instruction one of the two essential features of its mission.

2. It believed that in his parting instructions to his disciples Jesus had specifically charged them with this work.

3. In providing for the successful prosecution of this task the church very soon produced a distinct class known as teachers, who were particularly responsible for the educational work of the church.

4. These teachers were given a definite standing in the ministry and were found throughout practically the whole church.

5. It was understood that this teaching ministry had been originated and appointed by the special activity of the Holy Spirit.

6. The teachers devoted themselves so exclusively to the work of instruction that they had to be supported at least in part by those among whom they labored and who had received the benefit of their teaching.

The bearing of these facts upon the present situation may be stated briefly under three considerations. First, the emphasis upon the educational task of the church is not misplaced. The church's business is to lead men into such life as is actually that of the kingdom of God. That kingdom of life cannot be entered by either force or magic. It is for those only who have come to share in its life, experience its realities, and appreciate its values. But these things come only by cultivation, and in this it is the inescapable duty of the church to engage. The need of this today is especially urgent. Say what we will, the foundations are gone for not a few, and the old appeals find no response from many in our Christian communities. They need to be led anew to the solid

ground of spiritual realities. But this is a serious task and it is the task of the church.

Secondly, the church must give herself to the training of teachers who shall be qualified to do this work. This has been one of the great needs of the past, and it is absolutely indispensable to any large advance movement in the present. Every church that takes its task at all seriously must make provision in the local work for such training. It must equip its teachers to do something which may fairly be called educational. It must also insist that its schools, colleges, and seminaries shall train the young people whom it sends to them to be leaders in this forward movement. The church must contend for a closer touch between itself and the school and not allow the latter to forget that the end of knowledge is action and that it is training men for Christian service. Let the church insist that it perform its function or look elsewhere for support.

Thirdly, the church must recognize the necessity of a paid teaching ministry wherever it is practicable. Church schools have been training a certain style of preacher who has constituted the sole order of the ministry. But the teaching ministry is just as important as the preaching ministry. If it does not vitiate the work of a pastor to receive a salary, no more will it do so for the teacher. Let a teaching ministry be provided which is capable of leading in the educational work of the church, and let the church make generous provision for its support. There is already such a movement in some quarters. May it greatly enlarge!

A TRIBUTE TO DR. BRIGGS

PROFESSOR W. G. JORDAN, D.D.
Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

The publication of a volume of essays in honor of Professor Briggs is an event that deserves special attention.[1]

The volume is not one that can be "reviewed" in the ordinary sense of that word, seeing that it contains twenty-four different contributions on a great variety of subjects—philological, exegetical, archaeological, historical, theological, and philosophical; brief reference may be made to some of its articles, and a few words set down as to the occasion that has called it forth. The following statement from the preface brings the subject clearly before us: "This volume is offered to Professor Charles Augustus Briggs by a little group of his pupils and colleagues, with the addition of only two or three close friends. It is a testimonial of their personal affection, as well as of their sense of obligation to the veteran scholar and teacher, and they have chosen as its occasion his completion of seventy years of life, not because they do not hope for him many years of fruitful work, but because this anniversary recalls to them his long and notable service, and reminds them afresh of all they owe to the stimulus of his untiring energy, his patient research, his fearlessness in proclaiming truth, his warm personal sympathy, and his quick response to every demand upon his stores of knowledge and the treasures—often unsuspected—of his warm and valiant heart. They are glad that he should have now, while his vigor is yet unabated, this attestation of their regard."

One must admit that the principle of expressing to a gifted and faithful public servant the appreciation and gratitude of those whom he has stimulated and helped is a rational one; and also the form that it takes in such a volume as this is exceedingly appropriate. What can be more acceptable to the teacher than to see that his life-work has borne rich fruit in the vigorous service that his former students are now rendering to the cause of biblical scholarship? Of the twenty-four

[1] *Essays in Modern Theology and Related Subjects.* Gathered and Published as a Testimonial to Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., D.Litt., on the Completion of His Seventieth Year by a Few of his Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends. New York: Scribner, 1911. xvi+347 pages. $2.50.

contributors nineteen are alumni of Union Theological Seminary, and of these contributors quite a number are now in academic positions. These men, of course, owe their education and their character to a great variety of forces, but they all testify that Dr. Briggs exerted a powerful and healthful influence upon them at the most important period of their lives, and this is surely a noble testimony in which their teacher is justified in finding a real satisfaction. He has evidently been the means of stimulating many of them to carry on the same kind of work as that in which he was himself engaged, and in the same spirit.

In looking over the volume one soon gains the impression that it is a worthy tribute to a successful teacher and a credit to American scholarship. The range of subjects is wide, and this springs from deliberate choice in order to embody the idea that the man to whom the volume is dedicated is no narrow specialist but a man of wide reading and varied theological and practical interests. Where there is so much that is good it is difficult to make a selection, but a bare list of contents would not be very illuminating and a full review is out of the question. One general remark may be made before attempting any particular notices, viz., that the subjects chosen are of living interest; of course the philosophic questions here treated are always alive if they are handled with any measure of vigor and insight, but the special subjects, such as "Polytheism in Genesis," by Professor C. H. Toy; "The Return of the Jews under Cyrus," by Professor Edward Lewis Curtis; "The Sons of Korah," by Rev. Dr. J. P. Peters, and others of a somewhat similar character have a real bearing on disputed points of Old Testament criticism; Professor J. A. Bewer, who contributes "Exegetical Notes on Jeremiah," has made a wise selection of difficult passages and proposes some new solutions which, whether accepted or not, are worthy of careful consideration. The same is true of the New Testament subjects given by Dr. G. H. Gilbert and Professor Marvin R. Vincent.

Professor Francis Brown contributes a vigorous article on "The Decline of Prophecy" in which, by the way, he criticizes Duhm's endeavor to make certain passages late by means of very precarious linguistic arguments. In this connection he says: "Every Old Testament scholar must recognize his enormous debt to Duhm, whose independence and vigor have done so much to revitalize Old Testament exegesis and criticism, but his opinions on the points under discussion are certainly misleading." Many will sympathize with both sides of this statement, and we are glad to meet this vigorous defense of Jeremiah's "New Covenant." The article mentions the various influences which

favored the decline of prophecy. The opening paragraph will show that the subject is not treated in any pedantic fashion: "The prophetic writings of the Old Testament mark one of the great religious movements of the human race—probably the most significant of all, with one single exception. They also present a literary phenomenon which it is by no means easy to explain or understand. The rise and decline of any literature we can observe, as a matter of history, but we are seldom able to account for it any more than we should be to predict it. Antecedents and concomitants show themselves; sometimes they look like causes, sometimes like occasions, sometimes like secondary influences. Who shall analyze a literary situation—especially one of the rare creative periods—and tabulate its forces? Genius refuses to be analyzed. The essences whose combination gives the delicate flavor of a masterpiece, the insight and unconstrained ardor that command the spirit, cannot be followed back to the lurking places they emerge from, nor is the formula of combination to be set down by chemical symbols. And if we cannot tell how genius awakes, neither can we give adequate reasons for its decline into slumber. We can do hardly more than gather more phenomena and establish a series, which, in a given case, attends the process at one end or the other, offering hypotheses, if we like, as to possible effects produced by what seem to have the efficiency of causes. When the literature is religious literature, and its substance is the life of the soul in its highest relations, we are least of all in a position to deal with its phases by scientific process, for there is always mystery in religion." Certainly there is mystery in all things, not only in religion, but that does not absolve us from the duty of seeking to understand as far as possible these subtle processes. Professor Brown seeks all possible light on the subject and calls our attention to many important features of the later history of Hebrew prophecy.

Another debated point in Old Testament history is discussed by Professor Curtis: "The Return of the Jews under Cyrus." A brief but careful review is given of a subject upon which there has been much controversy since Kosters "cast upon the event the first doubts of an impressive character," in 1894. The net result is to show the weakness of the documentary evidence, and yet, as many Old Testament students have felt, this does not absolutely settle the matter.

"Yet in spite of all these facts certain things suggest the reality of a return. The preservation of prophecies mentioned concerning Cyrus suggests that they had been fulfilled in some such way. The poverty-stricken remnant left in the land would seem to require an impulse from

without for the revival of interest in the Temple culminating in the movement inaugurated by Haggai and Zechariah. The return need not have been mentioned in the short discourses of these prophets. The spirituality of their appeal may have caused silence in reference to royal patronage and hostile efforts. What also was more inevitable than a return if, according to the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the choicest portion of Israel was in captivity? Could the men whose passion for Jerusalem was that of Ps. 137 have been restrained from returning to Jerusalem? Cyrus, from all that is known of Persian policy, would not only have permitted but probably have favored a return. Thus it is not impossible that there was some sort of a return of the Jews under Cyrus, but the evidence for it is very slight, and we have no reason to believe that the Chronicler's account is anything else than imaginary."

An exceedingly interesting and useful statement concerning "The Repression of Scientific Inquiry in the Ancient Church" is given by Rev. Professor John Winthrop Platner, D.D. Considering the nature of the subject, it is brief but very much to the point. "The fundamental difference between pagan and Christian was this, that while Greek philosophic speculation and discovery were free, Christian thinking along similar lines was from comparatively early times increasingly bound. Limits were established beyond which it might not pass. Catholicism—that potent excluding and unifying force, which for at least twelve centuries controlled the church—created these limits, and by the exercise of ecclesiastical authority compelled Christian thought to move safely within them. The same influence which operated to unify organization, worship, and creed operated also to suppress divergence of opinion concerning matters not properly connected with religion at all, or even—as we have at last come to see—with theology either." This statement is illustrated by the contents of the essay and, as it seems to us, fully justified. But the writer does not in any crude fashion attempt to judge the ancient theologians by the standards of a later time. "After all is said, one shall remember that it was in this same intolerant church that the learning of antiquity, as well as of the Middle Ages, was preserved, and at her bosom were nourished children who should in time break down false barriers and once more make both religion and science free." One would gladly pay some attention to the articles on "The Christian Demand for Unity," by Professor W. Adams Brown, and "A Definition of Mysticism," by Professor T. C. Hall, but space forbids; sufficient has been said to show that the contents

of the volume are rich and varied and form a worthy tribute to the distinguished scholar in whose honor they have been written and published.

At the close of the present volume there is given a bibliography of almost twenty pages, which does not profess to be complete, but which shows at a glance not only that Dr. Briggs has been a prolific writer capable of severe and continuous work of a high order, but also that his interest has not been confined to one small corner of the historical and theological field. While giving special attention to biblical criticism and Old Testament exegesis Professor Briggs has manifested a deep interest in the intellectual and spiritual life of the whole church. Having reached three score years and ten he can look back upon a life of fruitful toil and rejoice that he has played an important part in the critical movement that has been for good or ill such a striking feature of the life of the Christian church, on its intellectual side, during the last generation. If the present writer were competent for the task, which he cannot claim to be, it would not be possible for him now to attempt an appreciation and criticism of Dr. Briggs's contributions to theology and biblical exegesis. It is appropriate, however, that in the *Biblical World*, someone representing the outsiders, so to speak, that is, those who know him only from his books, should join with his former students and personal friends in an expression of thankfulness for the good work that he has done, and in the hope that he may still have many days of peaceful and satisfactory service. Rest may he have, when it is needed, but we know that such a man has ever found the highest joy in strenuous work. We are not now concerned to examine such special points as to how far he was a pioneer in investigations concerning Hebrew meter or how his writings of years ago on "Messianic prophecy" stand in the light of present criticism. We have to content ourselves with the general statement that he has been both critical and conservative, and so in a period of transition has rendered immense service to his church and country. He rendered service to the cause of freedom and to the church that cast him out. The present writer is a loyal member of the Presbyterian church, and to him as to many others it was a matter of pain and regret when Dr. Briggs was condemned by the American branch of that church. That impression has only deepened as the years have gone by. As one living in another country, I cannot speak from personal knowledge, but on general principles one would think that the action of the General Assembly did more harm to the church that it represented than it can possibly have done to Dr. Briggs.

How important it is that in dealing with such difficult and delicate matters a church should be led by wise men who refuse to be ruled by narrow prejudice and fierce bigotry!

The writer of this review owes that which comes nearest to a personal impression of Dr. Briggs to a small book published in 1893 and entitled *The Trial of Dr. Briggs before the General Assembly. A Calm Review of the Case by a Stranger Who Attended All the Sessions of the Court.* This book, giving at the time only the initials of the writer's name, came, as is now well known, from the pen of the late Dr. Laidlaw, a distinguished minister of the Presbyterian church in Canada. Here we have the report of an intelligent witness, who was at the beginning in no sense a partisan of Dr. Briggs, and who speaks of a General Assembly in terms of reverence, almost in terms that a devout Roman Catholic might use concerning a council of his church. "He believes that the circumstances surrounding the trial of Dr. Briggs were of such a nature that error on the part of the court was unavoidable, and that it is therefore no reflection on the court to point out wherein it may be shown to have erred. In doing this he has sought to avoid any word that might be regarded as disrespectful to the Assembly as a whole or to any of its members." He gives his own "attitude," that of Dr. Briggs, and of the Assembly. He was a Presbyterian minister who had in his earliest years been taught the "Shorter Catechism" and as a theological student had been trained at the seat of purest orthodoxy—Princeton Seminary. "As already intimated, I had formed no definite opinion as to the merits of the Briggs case, and had taken no side on the questions at issue, though my reading on the subject had tended to incline me toward an unfavorable judgment of Dr. Briggs's views." The chapter on the attitude of the Assembly shows clearly that such a great public convention is quite unfit to be a "court" on such a delicate and complicated question. "No wonder that at one stage of the proceedings, when Dr. Briggs was presenting some of his most important evidence, a commissioner should have moved that the Assembly take an extended recess, as about half a dozen commissioners near him were fast asleep." The impression forced upon this disinterested observer was that the majority of the members of the Assembly had come there to register a foregone conclusion. The impression was widespread that Dr. Briggs entertained and taught heretical views, and that whatever might be said, it was the duty of representatives of the church to condemn such views. It may not be out of place here to quote the statement of Rev. Dr. Duffield of Princeton, "one of the most venerable of his opponents": "Dr. Briggs

undoubtedly is a man of rare scholarship, a man who has received honors from European universities, and who deserves the respect and the kind treatment of his Christian brethren. And, if Dr. Briggs will pardon me for saying it, if Dr. Briggs's logical faculty were equal to his scholarship, I know not his peer in the intellectual world, certainly of America." To this our reporter adds his pertinent comment: "To a stranger the value of this high tribute was enhanced by the fact that it was exceedingly difficult to detect any flaw in his logic. He seemed almost too good a logician. He relied too much upon logical syllogisms, and made use of them in some instances, in his defense before the Assembly, when a less strictly intellectual process might have served his purpose better. I would say that he sometimes appeared to forget that 'those root truths upon which the foundation of being rest are apprehended, not logically, but mystically'; but I am forbidden by the recollection that some of his opponents accused him of mysticism. . . . . He did not parade his piety, it is true, yet it was apparent to all who saw and heard him for the first time that he was what his friends and opponents alike declared him to be, not only a great scholar but a good man. After carefully observing his attitude of mind and listening attentively to all his utterances in his defense, I was not surprised when told privately that in matters of morals 'he is a Puritan of the Puritans.'" Certainly a man who could go through such an ordeal without being crushed or soured possessed strength of character and many noble qualities of mind and heart. This may be regarded by some as ancient history, that only needs to be forgotten, but like all real history, there is a living lesson at the heart of it, and we can only hope that the church will learn the lesson and show a keener sympathy for men who are struggling for larger views of truth. In conclusion we wish for Dr. Briggs many years of restful service in the eventide of his life.

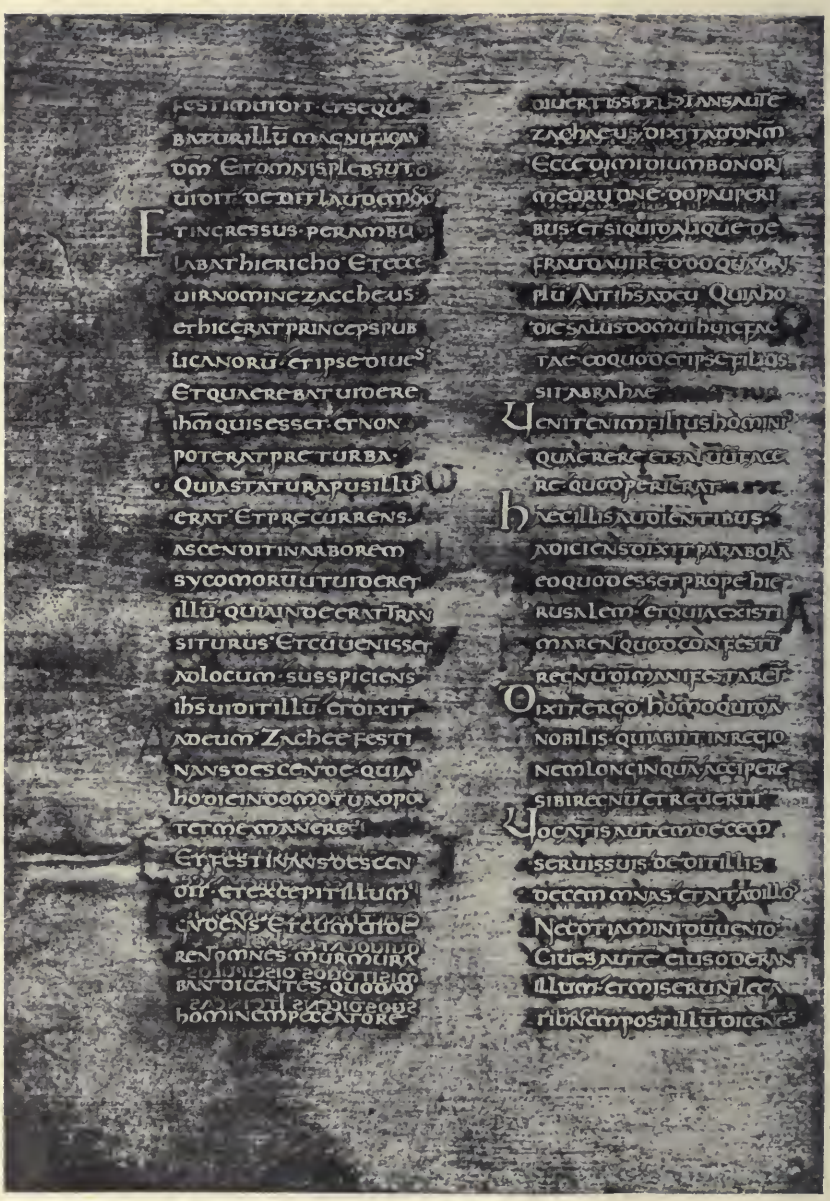
Book Reviews

THE GOLDEN LATIN GOSPELS

In the remarkable collection of manuscripts and books belonging to J. Pierpont Morgan, Esq., of New York, probably none is more notable than the Golden Gospels. Beautifully written on large sheets of purple parchment, in letters of gold, this great codex is one of the chief monuments of mediaeval Latin calligraphy. Mr. Morgan secured it, we are told, from the collection of Mr. Thomas Irwin, of Oswego, N.Y., who in his turn had bought it, about 1890, from Bernard Quaritch, the London dealer. Mr. Quaritch had bought if for £1,500 at the London sale of the Hamilton Manuscripts, in 1889. From this last connection the manuscript was formerly known as the Hamilton Gospels.

Of the origin of the manuscript little that is definite can be said. A coat of arms with dedicatory inscription on the first verso led Quaritch to believe that the manuscript had belonged to Henry VIII, but Berger, the French Vulgate scholar, regarded this inscription as a copy of an earlier one referring to Charlemagne, to whose period he referred the manuscript, finding it a work of the Palatine school, *ca.* 783. Wattenbach held it to have been written in Northumbria, about 670. Mr. H. C. Hoskier has recently made a minute study of the manuscript,[1] and reaches the conclusion that it was written in England, perhaps at Ripon or Wearmouth or Jarrow, and not far from 700 A.D. Mr. Hoskier finds evidence that forty scribes, a truly extraordinary number, worked upon the manuscript, and offers in explanation the theory that the superior, in haste to have the manuscript executed, perhaps as a present for Pope Agatho or Pope John, called in all the monks of the convent and set them to work copying. But it seems highly improbable that there should have been forty monks in any one mediaeval convent skilful enough to be intrusted with the task of writing on purple stained parchment in letters of gold; much less, skilful enough to accomplish such a task. The mere worth of the materials contradicts the

[1] *The Golden Latin Gospels* ℙ *in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (formerly known as the "Hamilton Gospels" and sometimes as King Henry the VIIIth's Gospels), now edited for the first time, with Critical Introduction and Notes, and accompanied by four full-page facsimiles. By H. C. Hoskier. New York: Privately printed, 1910.



THE GOLDEN LATIN GOSPELS
Luke 18:43–19:14

theory, and surely not every mediaeval monk was a calligrapher. It is true that Mr. Hoskier has seen the manuscript and his readers have not, but one could wish that a manuscript, so extraordinary paleographically, might be reproduced in facsimile, not perhaps in all its purple splendor, but at least in black and white. Paleographers will meantime be reminded that the hand of many a scribe develops as he works on through successive or occasional parts of a long manuscript, on which he may spend months and even years, and the uniformity of print must not be expected of him. It is however clear that a number of hands have worked upon the Golden Gospels, although perhaps not quite so many as Mr. Hoskier finds.

If we may refer the Golden Gospels at least to the eighth century, it ranks among the oldest manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate. Two or three, indeed (Fulda, Friuli, Milan), belongs to the sixth century, and half a dozen to the seventh. But the greatest of Vulgate codices, Amiatinus, probably dates from the beginning of the eighth century, and the Golden Gospels pretty certainly belongs to that general time. There are more elegant initials and decorations in the Book of Kells or the Lindisfarne Gospels, but in dignity of proportions and splendor of materials the Golden Gospels claims a high place in the splendid array of Latin biblical manuscripts. The manuscript preserves the four gospels complete in the Latin Vulgate version. It contains 144 leaves inscribed in double columns of 29–30 lines. The hue of the parchment varies from deep purple to blue, some leaves having probably faded, perhaps from being imperfectly dyed. The leaves measure $14\frac{1}{2}\times10\frac{1}{4}$ inches (cm. 36×26).

Abbot Gasquet, in preparing for the Benedictine revision of the Vulgate with which he has been charged, asked Mr. Hoskier to examine the Morgan gospels, and Mr. Hoskier has consequently published an account and collation of the manuscript for Mr. Morgan. Mr. Hoskier's work reveals extraordinary learning and diligence. He has made not an edition of the manuscript, as scholars might have wished, but he has collated it with the Clementine text, and has given some account of the manuscripts which agree in readings with his codex. The printing of the full text, line for line and column for column, would also have shown the manuscript's paragraphing and capitalization, which are sometimes matters of some importance in determining manuscript relationships. The collation seems to show a fairly good type of text. "Our MS," says Mr. Hoskier, "has no very extraordinary text, nor yet an ordinary one" (p. xxvi). It was used, as he believes, though with other manu-

scripts, by the scribes of the Book of Armagh, the Echternach Gospels, and the Gospels of MacRegol (p. cviii); shows remarkable agreements with Vercellensis, the oldest of the Old Latins, and exemplifies a type of text which, Hoskier thinks, can be traced back to Coptic texts older than ℵ B or even Origen (p. cxv).

In all this one feels that Mr. Hoskier, in his natural enthusiasm for a notable and beautiful manuscript, has been carried too far. Some things on which he bases a good deal look very much like ordinary mixture, and too much is certainly made of latinization and of some singular and subsingular readings of no great distinctiveness; e.g., the coincidence with Marcion's "ye say" (*dicitis*) in Luke 18:19. Mr. Hoskier's treatment is discursive and casual, rather than orderly, and his judgments on previous workers are not always charitable: "The only editors and collators so far who are accurate are Matthaei, Scrivener, and Tischendorf" (p. vi). We understand Wordsworth and White to be exempted by Mr. Hoskier from this sweeping verdict, but he seems to be unacquainted with Professor Thayer's *Notes on Scrivener's "Plain Introduction"* (1885), with its fifty pages of corrections of Scrivener's catalogue. For philology, he suggests that English "bad" may be derived from Syrian *abad* (אבד), "perish" (p. lvi). His English should perhaps be left to native British judgment; it seems at least unusual. On the whole, it would have been a worthier exhibition of the testimony of this noble manuscript to print its text in full, column by column, introducing it with a compact and full description of the codex, and following it with a well-digested verdict, freed from distracting minutiae, as to the character of its text.

Some points in Mr. Hoskier's collation call for correction, if the accompanying facsimiles are to be trusted. He might perhaps have indicated upon each of these what leaf of the codex it represents. The four facsimiles, one purple and gold, one blue and gold, and two in black and white, give some idea of the size and splendor of Mr. Morgan's Latin gospels. It is indeed a notable accession to American textual materials. The folio, limited to 200 copies, in which they are printed is a masterpiece of the printer's art, and Mr. Morgan's generosity in presenting copies to leading libraries and universities puts the testimony of his superb manuscript within the reach of a host of scholars.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

KENNETT, R. H. The Composition of the Book of Isaiah in the Light of History and Archaeology. London: Oxford University Press, 1910. Pp. vii+94. 3*s*.

This is the second volume in the series of Schweich Lectures which opened with Dr. Driver's course on Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible. The present course traces the history of the growth of the Book of Isaiah as the lecturer reads it. That history includes (1) prophecies from Isaiah himself, (2) oracles from the time of Cyrus, (3) passages from the period between Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander the Great, (4) one passage from Alexander's reign (332 B.C.), viz., 23:1–14, (5) passages from the second century B.C. The presentation is clear and attractive, and the view presented, though not likely to command assent throughout, is fairly representative of present-day opinion regarding the Book of Isaiah.

JORDAN, W. G. Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy [The Bible for Home and and School]. New York: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. xi+263. 75 cents.

An admirable interpretation of Deuteronomy for the man on the street. The introduction sets forth the essential facts clearly and sanely and the comments are only such as are really necessary to explain difficulties or illumine obscurities.

STONEHOUSE, G. G. V. The Book of Habakkuk. Introduction, Translation, and Notes on the Hebrew Text. London: Rivingtons, 1911. Pp. viii+264. 5*s*.

This is the first time in a long while that the Book of Habakkuk has been given the honor of a separate volume wholly devoted to its exposition. Habakkuk is well worth it. It is one of the most difficult and fascinating of the prophecies. Mr. Stonehouse presents a new interpretation which is well worth serious consideration, viz., that the evils protested against by the prophet are those perpetrated by the Chaldaeans against other nations than Judah, that consequently fear prevails in Judah at the prospect of the treatment awaiting her in turn, that parties have arisen in the state urging alliance with other nations against Chaldaea, and that Habakkuk deplores the lack of faith in Yahweh such a policy involves.

WIGHT, J. K. The Beginning of Things in Nature and in Grace, or A Brief Commentary on Genesis. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 188. $1.20.

This volume interprets Genesis as a literal record of facts. The processes and results of Modern Science do but confirm the Biblical record. The flood was universal in scope; the universe was created *ex nihilo;* the whole human race has descended from Adam and Eve.

COOKE, G. A. The Progress of Revelation—Sermons Chiefly on the Old Testament [The Scholar as Preacher—Second Series]. New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. xii+200. $1.75.

These sermons have at least two merits, viz., brevity and sanity. They are by the occupant of the Oriel Chair of Biblical Interpretation in Oxford University, formerly held by Canon Cheyne. They show that the Old Testament as interpreted by the critic can still be preached effectively. But they lack somewhat the fervor and passion necessary to great preaching.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

GREGORY, CASPAR RENÉ. Vorschläge für eine kritische Ausgabe des griechischen Neuen Testaments. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911. Pp. 52.

After much correspondence and consultation with scholars of various countries, Professor Gregory publishes his proposals for a new critical edition of the Greek New Testament, to be accompanied by a full apparatus of readings. The need of a more modern apparatus than that of Tischendorf is evident, and all American scholars will wish Professor Gregory's great enterprise well.

The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern (Sahidic and Thebaic) Dialect. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Oxford: The University Press, 1911. Three vols., pp. 648, 479, and 399. £4 4*s*. net.

This admirable edition of the Sahidic text, with an English translation, is the first to put this ancient Coptic form of the Gospels text into the hands of scholars in practical completeness. The assiduity and good fortune of the editor have enabled him to produce a Sahidic text covering all the gospels but a dozen or twenty scattered verses. The edition marks an important stage in the recovery of the earliest versions, and is valuable for both Western and neutral readings. The editor does not reveal his name, but he is doubtless George Horner, the editor of the Bohairic.

HUTTON, EDWARD ARDRON. An Atlas of Textual Criticism: Being an Attempt to Show the Mutual Relationship of the Authorities of the Text of the New Testament up to about 1000 A.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Pp. 125. $1.50.

Returning to Griesbach's division of texts into Alexandrian, Western, and Syrian, Mr. Hutton prints a conspectus of passages selected from various parts of the New Testament, in which readings of all three types appear. A series of original charts appended to his remarks on textual criticism shows the textual complexion of leading manuscripts, versions, and Fathers, in a clear and telling way. He urges similar treatment of less fully worked textual materials as indispensable to fuller knowledge of New Testament textual history.

HARNACK, ADOLF. Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit des synoptischen Evangelien. [Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament, IV. Heft.] Pp. 114.

Harnack urges that there is nothing in the Acts to forbid a date before the destruction of Jerusalem and even before the death of Paul. The gospel of Luke would thus be written earlier than A.D. 64, and that of Mark some time in the sixth decade of the first century. While there is much to commend this view of Acts, its articulation with early Christian tradition (e.g., Papias) presents some difficulty. Harnack's discussion is an important contribution to the problem of the date of the Gospels and Acts.

LEWIS, F. WARBURTON. Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel. Cambridge: University Press, 1910. Pp. 51. 65 cents net.

Professors Spitta, Burton, Bacon, and others have advanced the theory that the incoherence exhibited at some points in the Fourth Gospel is due to an ancient, probably accidental, disarrangement of the leaves of the papyrus codex containing it. This theory, particularly as Spitta presents it, has been carefully criticized and developed by Mr. Lewis, and after a painstaking and candid discussion he presents the following rearrangement as probably the original order of the parts of John's gospel: 1:1—2:12; 3:22–30; 2:13—3:21, 31, 36; chap. 4; chap. 6; chap. 5; 7:15–24; 8:12–20; 7:1–14, 25–52; 8:21–59; chaps. 9–12; 13:1–32; chaps. 15, 16; 13:33—14:31; chap. 17; chaps. 18–20; chap. 21. Students of the Gospel of John will be interested in Mr. Lewis' concise and skilful argument.

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THE PROPHETS

The right wing of Sargent's painting in the Boston Public Library

75.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXVIII AUGUST 1911 NUMBER 2

Editorial

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The Young Men's Christian Association has become one of the most powerful and effective organizations in the world for the expression and cultivation of the spirit of Christianity. Its rise to strength, relatively slow in the first half of its existence, has in the last quarter-century been, especially in America, almost startlingly rapid. Prejudice has been overcome, the confidence alike of religious leaders and of men of wealth has been gained, splendid buildings have been erected, able men have been added to its staff, the field of its operations and the scope of its activities have been widened, until today it is known in every land, and is everywhere among the most notable and representative institutions of Christianity. It numbers among its officers, advocates, and supporters men of the highest eminence in political and financial life, and the sums willingly given to it every year for its work at home and abroad are reckoned not in thousands or hundreds of thousands, but in millions of dollars.

If we seek the explanation of the phenomenal success of this movement we shall find it in part at least in the following facts: In the first place, the association has had great leaders, men of ability, energy, and persistence, but above all, of faith. With breadth of vision and splendid courage, they have planned great things, and their faith has been justified by the results achieved. This has been true, moreover, not only of the men in places of the highest responsibility, but of the subordinate officers also. The association has chosen its colonels and captains, as well as its generals, with great wisdom, and has rigorously demanded that

they justify their appointment by achieved results. No supposedly superhuman and irresistible call to the ministry has sufficed to put a man into the service of the association, or to keep him there in the face of failure to bring things to pass.

In the second place, by ignoring those differences which separate the so-called evangelical denominations from one another the association has rallied to its support men of all denominations, and has succeeded in being not a divisive but a unifying force both in the home lands and in the Orient.

In the third place, it has increasingly emphasized the expression of Christianity in deed rather than its formulation in creed, and in pursuance of this policy has sought to do good in all ways and to all men. It has virtually said to all men who passed by its doors, "Whoever you are and whatever your need or creed, we are here to the extent of our ability to help you, and we invite you to join us in helping others in a like catholic spirit." So broad has been the platform, and so helpful has been its work that not only members of Protestant churches, but Catholics, Jews, members of no church, and adherents of the non-Christian religions of the East have given largely to the support of the association and have personally shared in its work. Notable among many instances of this kind is the case of Mr. Julius Rosenwald, a Jewish merchant of Chicago, who besides having given liberally for the work of the association in Chicago has recently offered to contribute $25,000 for the erection of a building for men of the colored race in any city in which $75,000 shall be given by others, a proposal of which five cities have already taken advantage. But scarcely less striking illustrations could be given of non-Christian men in India, China, and Japan, who, seeing the value of the association's work, have given liberally in proportion to their means for the support of this avowedly Christian institution.

But the very success of the association's work has now brought it face to face with a difficult and important question. The association had its birth not only within Christianity, but within the environment of distinctively orthodox and evangelical Christianity. It came into existence, moreover, in a time when the lines of discrimination, not only between Christianity and other religions, but

between evangelical Christian churches and all other Christian bodies, were sharply drawn. It is still somewhat surprising that a Hebrew or a Confucianist should give money for the promotion of a Christian association. But it would have been far more so when the association came into being, and in those days the friendliness of Christian sects one to another, which commonly prevails today, would have seemed to many actual infidelity to sacred truth. To the tolerant spirit that prevails today, the Young Men's Christian Association is in part indebted for its own prosperity, but it is also itself in no small part the cause of it. Its efforts to bring men together in common work have greatly helped them to forget their differences of opinion, losing sight of them in the mutual respect and liking which co-operation has produced.

Arising when it did, it was natural that the association should define its conditions of full membership in terms directly or indirectly doctrinal. Having made the history which it has made, it is not less inevitable that it should now find itself confronted by the question whether it shall maintain that position, or, following the lines which it has made for itself, modify its conditions of membership to correspond to the spirit which has more and more controlled its administration.

The expedient of associate membership has done valuable service. But sooner or later some other status will have to be found for that large number of valued participators in its work whom the association has drawn to itself but who do not fulfil the conditions of membership as now defined. The association has chosen to be something more than a Christian sect, and cannot evade the results of its own success.

There are undoubted difficulties in the way of substituting, as the condition of full membership in the association, any purely personal test, whether of creed or character, for the test of membership in an evangelical church, which has hitherto prevailed in the associations of this country. The impersonal test has undoubtedly contributed greatly to making the association a unifying instead of a divisive force. This advantage it can scarcely afford to forego. For we cannot but regard it as undesirable that this great body should cease to be the powerful unifying force in Christendom

which it has hitherto been, becoming in effect another competing church alongside of the Catholic and Presbyterian and Methodist churches that we already have. Undoubtedly, also, any proposition so to modify the constitution of the association as to give full place and privilege to all Christians alike would necessitate a consideration of the problem, What should be done in reference to non-Christians who contribute to the treasury of the association, and who are actually engaged in its work? It may become necessary to give larger place to the principle of local freedom already introduced to some extent. But no difficulties in the way of bringing Christians of all local and ecclesiastical names into one organization, or of co-operating with men not Christian in name, however truly so in spirit, can long serve to justify the association in maintaining a platform narrower than its name, or putting upon that name a definition defensible only on the premises of a conception of Christianity itself indefensibly narrow.

The association has been a principal factor in creating the present trend toward harmony and co-operation of all the forces of Christendom. In all the world it is today the most outstanding practical expression of the unity of Christendom and of the supremacy of character over formulated creed. Unless it will undo its own work and become a force in the opposite direction, it must speedily find a way by which all men who sincerely honor the name of Christ and desire to have a share in the realization of his ideals can work together in the association on equal terms. This is as clearly its duty today as was the inclusion of the members of all evangelical churches a century ago.

PAUL'S ESCHATOLOGY

PROFESSOR IRVING F. WOOD, PH.D.
Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

I. THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF PAUL'S THOUGHT

Paul's religion was grounded in eschatology. His hopes and motives in life, the passion and urgency of his religion, center in his conception of the future. Any thorough study of Paul's religion should begin, not end, with the study of his eschatology.

The religion in which Paul was reared also found its practical center in eschatology. Its center was the messianic hope, that heart of Judaism which, living and throbbing, sent the warm life-blood of a vital religion through the body of Jewish thought. Paul belonged to the Pharisaic school of Judaism, but we must remember that the Pharisee was not always a formalist. With all Paul's self-accusation, he never charges himself with that. No one man ever stands alone in religion. His general point of view is always that of a social group. Even without the testimony of such books of deep devotion as the Pharisaic Psalms of Solomon we should conclude that with many Pharisees the outward religious forms were the expression of a deep inward longing after God.

Our first impulse is to interpret a phrase like "longing after God" in the sense of individual aspiration. Thus most of our Christian literature interprets it. This individual interpretation may take either one of two forms: the aspiration for God in heaven—an individual eschatology—or the aspiration for a mystical communion with God in the present life. Only a few are so filled with the social ideal that the phrase, "longing after God," suggests first a desire that present society be so transformed as to express perfect righteousness. When a man expresses such a desire, he is usually called a socialist.

The Jewish messianic hope, with its longing after God, was none of these aspirations, though it comes nearer to the last than to either of the others. Instead of being individually eschatological,

it was socially eschatological, a form of thought which the Christian church has scarcely known since the first century of its history. The pious Jew hoped to share in the messianic kingdom, but, if we may judge from either Jewish writings or the Pauline letters, his expectation centered less upon his individual pleasure in it than upon the glory of his nation. Paul represented the ideal pious Jew when he said, "I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake." A large part of the great power which the messianic hope had in Judaism was beyond doubt due to the fact that it was not selfishly personal. It was national, social, expressing a solidarity which always makes religion a powerful human force.

A great hope in religion always embodies itself in conceptions and pictures more or less definite in detail. The imagination refuses to lie quiet when the mind is filled with a glorious and vital anticipation. So imagination had wrought upon the messianic hope. The results fall into two classes—conceptions and visions.

The details of the messianic hope in pre-Pauline Judaism do not make a consistent system either in conceptions or in visions. This is not merely because the Hebrews were not system builders, but because the authoritative books of the religion were openly at variance with each other and with the current Jewish thought of the first Christian century. The picture of the future of the nation is not wholly a unity, and the future of the individual is vague and variant. In most of the books of the Old Testament individual destiny counts for little and is swallowed up in the destiny of the nation. There are frequent references to the belief in a shadowy life in Sheol, a life weak and not to be desired (Job 26:5; Isa. 14:9–17), cut off even from knowledge of this world (Job 14:12,21), the abode of good men and evil men alike (I Sam. 28:19; Job 3:17). This belief was an old pagan conception, akin to primitive beliefs in all parts of the world, and, for Israel, it always remained pagan. Jehovah was the God of the living and not of the dead, and the shades were never brought under his sway. "In Sheol who shall give thee thanks?" (Ps. 6:5). "The dead praise not the Lord" (Ps. 115:17; see Isa. 38:18). Gradually this primitive idea of the shades vanished from Hebrew thought, for the divine drama

centered about the earth and the development of the destiny of Israel. But the more glorious that destiny, the more tragic was the problem of the individual. He might love and suffer much for his nation, but in the land of silence and the shadow of death no good would accrue to him for it. The social and political situation made the problem still more strenuous. The nations rode by in state and glory, while Israel bent its captive neck to the yoke. They poured insolent scorn on Jehovah, and Jehovah sat quiet, as though it were he and not the idols that was deaf and blind. Could Jehovah be ever indifferent to justice? Must not the future hold an answer to the riddle of righteousness? From this problem of justice arose the hope embodied in the doctrine of the resurrection. In the Old Testament, Ecclesiastes definitely rejects the hope. Twice it is clearly expressed, both times in late sections: Isa. 26:19;[1] Dan. 12:1–3. Those to whom this life has not brought just punishment or reward—not all men—will come back from Sheol, "the land of the dust," and awake again to life; and so justice will at last be done. Further complications arise from the fact that Jewish belief did not cease development with the last canonical books. A great number of questions persistently demanded answer. Can one say that exact justice has ever been done in this life? If not, must not all men be raised if any are to be? Is the resurrection before or after the messianic age? How will the righteous be rewarded and the wicked punished? Will the "day of Jehovah" be a definite judgment day? If so, is it before or after the messianic age? Will that age be temporary or endless? If temporary, what will come after it? Will the Messiah or Jehovah conduct the judgment? What will be the end of the unjust? Such questions as these still stood to be answered. The rise of Christianity falls in the time when variant answers were returned to most of these questions.

The Jewish eschatology of this period is to be found most fully in the apocalyptic books. How far such books were influential in the rabbinical circles where Paul's thought took form is an unsolved question. With their bizarre figures and their extrava-

[1] Isa., chaps. 24–27, is one of the very late portions of the book, though the exact date is not easy to determine.

gant hopes, they do not seem to belong to the same class of thought as the rather cool reasoning of the rabbis, nor are they referred to in literature which comes from the rabbis, like the "Sayings of the Fathers" or the older parts of the Talmud. It has been questioned whether the rabbis did not look askance at them. Their fundamental ideas, however, are certainly the same as those which form the background of Pharisaic thought, and these general ideas, together with some particular features of the apocalyptic pictures, are found in the Pauline epistles.

The following apocalyptic writings, outside the canon, preceded Paul's epistles in time, and therefore may have been known to him: Enoch, usually known as the Ethiopic Enoch, from the language in which it has come to modern times, and divided into parts assigned to different dates: chaps. 1–36, 37–70, 72–90, 91–104, with various interpolations, as chaps. 70–71; the Slavonic Enoch; the Book of Jubilees; the Assumption of Moses. The following positions taken by the writers of these books on some of the eschatological details will show how far this subject was from being a unity in Paul's day. The varieties here represented are probably by no means all that could be found in Paul's Jewish environment, did we know it better.

The state after death.—The good and evil receive rewards and punishments even before the resurrection, Enoch, chaps. 1–36; the wicked are punished immediately after death, and do not share in the resurrection, Enoch, chaps. 90–104; the righteous enter upon blessedness immediately after death, Jubilees.

Events preceding the end of the age.—Evil will become stronger, then God will appear in person and overturn the wicked, Enoch, chaps. 83–90; the righteous will slay the wicked, Enoch, chaps. 90–104; evil will become stronger, Enoch, chaps. 37–70; great and bitter evils will come upon the righteous, then Israel will turn to God and enjoy long life and peace, Jubilees.

The resurrection.—Of all Israel, both good and bad, Enoch, chaps. 1–36; of righteous Israelites only, Enoch, chaps. 83–90; of all Israel but no others, Enoch, chaps. 37–70; not bodily but spiritual, Enoch, chaps. 91–104, Assumption of Moses, Slavonic Enoch; no resurrection, but immortality at death, Jubilees.

The judgment.—Before the messianic age, Enoch, chaps. 1–36; after the messianic age, Enoch, chaps. 71–104, Slavonic Enoch; administered by the Messiah, only in Enoch, chaps. 37–70, in other writings, by God himself.

The Messiah.—No Messiah, Enoch, chaps. 1–36, Jubilees, Assumption of Moses, Slavonic Enoch; appears after the judgment and has no special function, Enoch, chaps. 83–90; a spiritual, supernatural being, who overcomes evil, judges men and angels, inaugurates and rules over the messianic age, Enoch, chaps. 31–70.

The messianic kingdom.—Earthly, centered at Jerusalem, eternal, the gentiles converted, Enoch, chaps. 1–36; in a heavenly Jerusalem, Enoch, chaps. 83–90; eternal, in a new heaven and earth, only for Israel, Enoch, chaps. 37–70; temporal, on this earth, Enoch, chaps. 91–104, Jubilees, Assumption of Moses, Slavonic Enoch.

There is something extremely modern in this variety of presentation. Much the same thing meets the student of any subject which is taking shape in the present day. He can sympathize with the young rabbi Saul, if that student in Jerusalem ever conned the rolls of these books. Variety in any age, however, does not create hopeless confusion so long as a unified point of view lies behind it. It is doubtful if the apocalyptic differences disturbed Paul's pre-Christian thought any more than the differences of science or of economics disturb the thought of the modern student, living in the progressive atmosphere of the modern world. The important thing is always the point of view, the general attitude toward the world and life. In the age of Paul, the attitude was the same, whether expressed in apocalyptic pictures or in rabbinical reasoning; apocalypse only brings it to view somewhat more clearly. Its first element is a contrast between God and the world. The world is evil. It cannot be made good except by overthrow and reconstruction. Revolution, not evolution, is the key to the world's history. Evil now rules the world, and God sits by and allows it, reserving his power for the present, while evil waxes stronger and stronger. The second element is an abiding optimism. God cannot allow evil wholly to triumph. When evil becomes so strong that it will seem almost to have won the battle, God will

suddenly overthrow it. The right will finally triumph, not by the power of man, but by the might of the omnipotent God. This element furnishes the basis for a great inspiration to faith. The third element is the issue in practical life. The faithful man must not despair, for evil is only temporary; nor must he attempt to force the overthrow of evil, for God himself will overthrow it in his own time. It is man's part to wait patiently and hold faith in God. That is no task for a moral weakling. It requires all the strength religion can produce to hold men to an abiding faith in God when everything seems to combine to throw discredit upon his power.

These were the religious preconceptions in which Paul was trained. They are different in some respects from the preconceptions of modern religion. We are not dualists. We assume the world to be a universe, with a single purpose running through it. History and God are not at variance. Rather is history the manifestation of God in the development of men. Nor does evil seem to most of us to be growing stronger. History is evolution, not revolution, and the giant wrongs of the world will need no sharp, final blow by supernatural power for their overthrow. To appreciate the position of the Jew we must reverse our easy optimistic views of history and think how it would seem to hold our belief in the final triumph of right by means of the dead lift of faith.

Now think of Paul, holding, by the sheer will power of faith, this hope for a final triumph of good in a dimly distant future, suddenly brought to face, in what he believed to be a real personal interview, with a man believed by some to be the Messiah, but formerly held by Paul to be no better than an impostor. The man had died, and his disciples claimed that God had raised him from the dead and thereby confirmed him as the Messiah. And now this man appears to him. His only conclusion can be that the disciples are right, and the man is the Messiah. We are not now concerned with the explanation of the vision on the way to Damascus. We are trying to look at it from Paul's own point of view.

This event affected the eschatology of Paul in three ways. First, it brought the final triumph of God over evil very near, and

so made it both vivid and dominant in his thought. If the Messiah had already appeared on earth, the final and triumphant manifestation could not be far distant. "Maranatha," "The Lord cometh," is henceforward Paul's watchword in common with other Christians. Second, it laid strong emphasis upon the resurrection of Christ and of believers. The thought of Paul centers about the resurrection life much more than the thought of any of the gospel writers. Third, it gave a starting-point to vivid, almost pictorial speculations about the nature of the resurrection body, and made the doctrine not an abstraction, but a concrete, living reality.

This, then, is the groundwork of Paul's eschatology; largely the fundamental religious conceptions of Judaism, only modified so far as was necessary by the belief that Jesus was the Messiah.

We may conclude from what is said above that Paul began his Christian career with the following fundamental eschatological conceptions: (1) Jesus is the Messiah. (2) The Messiah will come again soon, to inaugurate his kingdom. (3) That kingdom will be one of triumph and glory for the Messiah and his people. (4) The time preceding it will grow worse and worse till the end. (5) The final triumph of God will be the overthrow of evil in a whirlwind of supernatural power. (6) The messianic age will be accompanied, at either its beginning or its end, by a divine judgment upon all living men. (7) The righteous dead will be raised with visible bodily forms, but not necessarily with material substance, and share in the messianic triumph.

We notice again the social rather than individual character of this messianic hope. Its center is not an individual immortal life, but a glorious community of the followers of the Messiah. Nor did the hope take speculative form. We cannot presume to say what were Paul's assumptions at the beginning of his Christian career as to the duration of the messianic kingdom; its place, whether earthly or heavenly; the intermediate state of the righteous dead; the problem of the resurrection of the wicked, or the duration of their punishment. The ideas which we may assume he had were not speculative, but practical, and adapted to make the basis of a living religious hope.

The student of Paul's eschatology should always remember that we have, properly speaking, no Pauline theology, but only inferences drawn from certain letters, written, not for speculative, but for practical and ethical purposes. We shall expect, therefore, to find only a fragmentary and incomplete system of theology. We can never tell whether such a system represents the whole of Paul's thought on any subject. His religion is always more fully represented than his theology.

Paul's use of "the Kingdom" is mostly future. See I Cor. 6:9; 15:24, 50; Gal. 5:21; Eph. 5:5; Col. 4:11; I Thess. 2:12; II Thess. 1:5. Only three times (Rom. 14:17; I Cor. 4:20; Col. 1:13) does it seem to be used of the present. Paul's independence of Christ's formal teaching is seen in this reversal of uses; for with Christ the kingdom was more often present than future. To Paul, Christianity was a confident expectation of the glorious messianic kingdom whose hope had come to be so important in later Judaism.

2. WORLD HISTORY

The Pauline writings present two definite statements of world history, II Thess., chap. 2, and Rom., chap. 11. They differ from each other so radically as to have produced a belief, very widespread fifty years ago, that II Thess. could not be Pauline. Present scholarship, with perhaps greater appreciation of human flexibility, is more inclined to solve the problem by allowing a change of emphasis or, if necessary, even of point of view, under the shifting circumstances of Paul's life. II Thess. 2:1–12 is the most concise presentation of apocalyptic ideas in the New Testament. The movements of history it presents are threefold: The abolition of some present "power that restrains"; the exaltation of a power that is evil; the supernatural overthrow of this power at the coming of the Messiah. The general conception of the course of future history is clear. There will be a growing evil which will culminate in deceit of men and blasphemy of God before the Messiah comes. The Jewish sources of this conception are also clear. Behind the apocalyptic books stands the ideal conflict of "Gog of the land of Magog," distant and terrible tribes from Scythia, which came to be the types of the forces of evil (Ezek., chaps.

38–39). Whether the Babylonian dragon myth also stands behind this ideal figure of the enemy of God is of less concern.[2] It would not be surprising if it did, for tales travel widely in religion and are sometimes found in most unexpected quarters, as when Buddha appears as St. Josaphat in the Christian list of saints.

The details of the picture are obscure. Paul attempts no explanation, but only reminds the Thessalonians of what he has already told them orally (vs. 5). The details concern two problems: Who is "the lawless one"? What is the power which now "restrains" the lawless one? Both the lawless one and the restraining power are now in existence (vs. 7). The lawless one is not yet revealed, his existence is hidden, or latent in some other movement. The revelation will be connected with an apostasy, a word only used in the New Testament and the Septuagint, meaning departing from Jehovah (see Acts 21:21; Jer. 2:19; I Macc. 2:15). With this meaning agrees the term, "The lawless one," and the prediction that he will occupy (in fact or in figure) the temple of God. It is difficult to think of these terms as expressing anything except a Jewish origin for the "lawless one," and, on the other hand, it is almost as difficult to think of Paul as supposing that the monotheistic Jews would be led away by one who asserted himself to be God (vs. 9). How can this be a false Messiah, for the Messiah was not God in Jewish estimation? It seems impossible now to recover with any certainty the exact picture which Paul had in mind when he used these terms of vague meaning. The important thing is after all the general conception, and that is clear. Evil will lift itself up, will lead many astray and will seem to gain the seat of God himself, and the germ of this evil is already in the world. In Paul's mind was the idea concerning the increase of evil before the coming of the Messiah which led to the Jewish term, "the birth pangs of the Messiah."

Some power now holds back this development of evil. It must be removed before "the lawless one" can flaunt his defiance openly. That this power is the Roman Empire seems most probable. To Paul, the Roman Empire was the protector, not the assailant, of the church. Its officers had always protected

[2] See Bousset, *The Legend of Antichrist*, for a full statement of this dragon myth.

him. He could not have appreciated the fierce hate of Rome which stirred the writer of Rev., chaps. 17, 18. Why, then, did he think that Rome, great and imposing as its imperial power must have seemed to Paul, who had wandered for years within its borders, would fall, and that speedily? The only answer which one can give is the strength of the Jewish expectation of a tremendous force of evil opposing and persecuting the people of God.

A little later Rome herself, in her persecution of the Christians, fulfilled this expectation. As yet Paul saw no signs of such opposition in Rome. The empire, therefore, must give way to another power. It seems like an expectation in the light of a preconceived idea. Jewish thought held that before the appearance of the messianic kingdom a power of evil must develop, severely trying the souls of the people of God, and Paul could not lay aside the idea. If this seems an insufficient reason for a religious conception, it is well to consider how many people hold religious ideas on the same basis. Remember, too, that this idea had much real religious value to the Jew. It called out his faith and courage and bound him closer to his God. Such ideas are not laid aside without good reasons and Christianity had presented no reason whatever to Paul for his abandonment of this conception.[3]

If Paul carries over common Jewish thought in his idea of the future, he adds a distinctly Christian element in the idea of the time when this hope will be realized. When the disciples asked Jesus, according to the story in the Acts, "Wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" they expressed an expectation which lived in Christian minds as long as Christianity was Jewish and messianic. As soon as the Jews were ready for him the Messiah would come. I Thess. expresses the hope that this will take place in the lifetime of some of the readers—"We," said Paul, "shall be caught up in the clouds." His historical prospect in II Thess. is not designed to contradict it, but only so to modify the Thessalonian interpretation that they shall not think of the Lord's coming as imminent (12:2). The Thessalonian Christians

[3] If we could be sure, which we cannot, that the apocalyptic discourse in Mark, chap. 13, and parallels, represented in all respects Christ's teaching, we should be obliged to question whether Paul's conception did not rest in part on Jesus' own teaching; cf. Mark 13:5–8, 21–23.

seem to have thought of the time in terms of days and weeks. Paul thought of it in terms of years, but not of generations nor centuries. This was, we repeat, not Paul's idea only. He had taken it over bodily from his Christian comrades. Such an idea may always receive modification, sometimes unconsciously, without affecting the main contents of a system of thought.

On this subject, then, Paul repeated two thoughts, one Jewish and one Christian, and added to neither anything which we can be sure was his own.

In a writing some years later he presents another plan of world-history. In Rom. 11:25–32 he expresses a confident belief in the bringing in of the gentiles to be followed by a gathering of all Israel, so that gentile and Jew alike shall be included in the messianic kingdom. There are Jewish elements in this belief. That all purified Israel should be in the messianic kingdom was the common hope from the days of the prophets (Isa. 64:1–5; Zech. 13:9). Paul does not mean that every Israelite will be a member of the kingdom. He is dealing in terms of the nation as a whole. Nor is the idea that the gentiles shall share the kingdom entirely new, even though the more usual prophetic thought was that the gentiles should be subjects of glorified Israel, and the apocalyptic thought was that the gentiles should be utterly destroyed. The broader and more humane idea is found in Isa. 2:1–4 and occurs occasionally in the writings of Judaism, as Psalms of Solomon 17:33–35, "And he shall purge Jerusalem and make it holy even as it was in the days of old, so that the nations may come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing as gifts her sons that had fainted, and may see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her." Paul, writing to the partly gentile Roman church, naturally turned to this form of the messianic hope. One thing seems to be entirely new. It is the relation between the rejection of Christ by the Jews and the entrance of the gentiles into the messianic kingdom. That grew out of his own experiences. As a matter of fact, the rejection of Christianity by the Jews had opened the door to the gentiles. The stories of Acts, even allowing something for a schematic presentation of facts, show beyond question that the Jewish rejection caused

Christian missionaries to turn to the gentiles. Paul already saw that without the Jewish rejection the gentile churches would not have been founded. Had Jesus been accepted by the Jewish nation as the Messiah the religion of Jesus would never, so far as we can see, have penetrated into the gentile world, and his name today would be as little known to European civilization as the name of Bar Cochba. The Jewish rejection was, so Paul reasoned, but making more glorious the messianic kingdom which the Jewish prophets foretold. This conception must have been a great encouragement to Paul. A strong man may be able to hold faith in the wisdom and goodness of God when he is unable to see any outlook for good in the course of present history, but even a strong faith is made easier and more triumphant when it is able to see that its pathway leads toward the heights. For the timid Jewish Christian, the Jewish rejection of Jesus must have seemed the hardest thing to bear. This bold speculation of Paul, based as it was on the present facts of history, flanked the enemies' strongest position, captured its stoutest citadel. Paul had read the plans of God in the revelations of passing history. It is no wonder that he ends with a doxology, "O the depths of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God!"

This passage in Romans seems to belong to a different sphere of thought from that in II Thess. It has no characteristics of apocalyptic. It conceives history as evolution, not revolution. It seems to have no place for the culmination of evil in the reign of the "lawless one." Not a triumph of evil, but a triumph of good is the prelude to the messianic kingdom. The two conceptions may not be quite mutually exclusive, but they belong to different spheres of thought.

Quite as difficult to harmonize is the matter of time. I Thess. puts the coming of the messianic kingdom within this generation. It is difficult to see how Paul could conceive of the wide spread of Christianity in the gentile world, then its conquest of Judaism, as within this brief time, but evidently he did, for to the end of his writings, even when he himself no longer desired to be alive at Christ's coming (Phil. 1:22 f.), he exhorts to faithfulness because of the shortness of the time (Phil. 4:5). It is not necessary to

suppose, as do some,[4] that Paul had definitely changed his opinions on this subject. Doubtless his mind had changed its emphasis. Doubtless we, looking at the two passages from outside, find it impossible to reconcile them. But is the modern man, engaged in active promotion of causes, always wholly consistent in his opinion? The real situation seems to be this: Two systems of thought about future history were in Paul's mind. One was the traditional apocalyptic system, which also had been taken over bodily by the Christian leaders (see Mark, chap. 13, and the Book of Revelation). The other was the outcome of his own study of the prophets, coupled with his experience and observation of the course of gospel progress. The modern world is full of like compounds of tradition and experience, quite as much at variance, but held without recognition of their incongruity. Nowhere are such combinations of ideas more common than in religion, and especially in times of transition. Shall we not allow Paul also to have been a man subject to the universal mental qualities of human kind? No man in times of transition escapes contradictions. We find them in Luther and Calvin, as well as in lesser men. Paul was a stout reasoner, but his mind was not a mechanical logic machine devoid of human qualities. On more than one point his opinions were not completely systematized.

[4] See Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, pp. 397 ff.

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THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITERS' INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE
The University of Chicago

Old Testament phraseology is frequently reproduced in the New Testament. A glance at Westcott and Hort's, or Nestle's, Greek New Testament, where these borrowed words are printed in special type, shows one the wide extent of this influence. According to one count there are 78 formal quotations in Paul's writings, 46 in the Synoptic Gospels, 28 in Hebrews, 23 in Acts, 12 in the Gospel of John, and about a dozen in the remaining books.[1] The less formal use of Scripture is also extensive. The Book of Revelation, for example, though it gives no explicit citations, is saturated with Old Testament phraseology. Throughout the New Testament there is a similar coloring, affecting not only the language but also the thought of the new faith. Reflection upon Scripture seems to have been an integral factor in primitive Christian thinking.

The New Testament writers' attitude toward the Old Testament was essentially the same as that of their Jewish contemporaries.[2] These books were believed to contain an explicit revelation of the divine will not only for Israel but also for Christians. God who had thus spoken in times past through the mouth of his servants still spoke by the written records, if only the writings were properly interpreted. Naturally Christians held that they alone, through their faith in Christ, had come into possession of the key to all true scriptural exposition; so they turned with full confidence to the ancient records as the final court of appeal in religious matters.

It is true that Christianity, at least in its earliest period, was not so emphatically a book-religion as was contemporary Judaism.

[1] Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 391 f.

[2] Cf. "The Scribes' Interpretation of the Old Testament," *Biblical World*, July, 1911.

The ecstatic experiences of the Christians gave them a sense of authoritative insight and spiritual elevation not shared by the ordinary interpreter. The result, however, was not any rejection of the Old Testament's authority, but a bold and free exposition of its teaching to make it support the special tenets of the new faith. Even in the case of Paul, whose controversy with the legalists might conceivably have resulted for him in a depreciation of the Old Testament, confidence in the divine origin and authority of the Scriptures remains unshaken. "The law is holy, and the commandment is holy and righteous and good" (Rom. 7:12). "Whatsoever things were written beforetime were written for our learning, that through patience and through comfort of the scriptures we might have hope" (Rom. 15:4). It is not for the ox that God cared when he spoke in Deuteronomy about not muzzling the ox which treads out the grain, rather "saith he it assuredly for our sake" (I Cor. 9:9 f.).

Thus Christians took over the Old Testament without robbing it of the prestige it held in Judaism. This was a natural procedure, since the original setting of Christianity was thoroughly Jewish. The ultimate outcome also was that Christianity became pronouncedly the religion of a book. Even in the New Testament period it has become essentially such. Paul's repeated assertion that these things were written "for our sake" (Rom. 4:23 f.; 15:4; I Cor. 9:9 f.; 10:6, 11), the way in which the evangelists find Jesus' career foreshadowed in the prophets, the fulfilments of Scripture which are seen in the history of the early church as given in the Book of Acts, in fact the attitude of the New Testament writers in general, attest the early existence of the notion that the Old Testament was even for Christians a most valuable expression of the divine will. These were sacred books, inspired of God, profitable for teaching, reproof, correction, and instruction, and able to make men "wise unto salvation" (II Tim. 3:15 f.). By prophecy in particular were men enlightened as by a "lamp shining in a dark place," so believers turned with all confidence to the past since they held that "no prophecy ever came by the will of man, but men spake from God being moved by the Holy Spirit" (II Peter 1:19 ff.).

There is scarcely a book of the present Old Testament with which the New Testament writers do not show an acquaintance, either in direct quotations or in passing allusions and incidental similarities in words and thought.[3] Occasional use is also made of books that did not attain canonical standing, as well as of legends circulating in popular tradition. The Book of Enoch is explicitly cited in Jude, vs. 14, and the same work seems to be the source of information for the statement in Jude, vs. 6, about the angels "kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day." Reference to Michael and the devil disputing about the body of Moses (Jude, vs. 9) probably is derived from the Assumption of Moses. The mention in Heb. 11:37 of ancient worthies "sawn asunder" seems to be derived from a Jewish midrash about the martyrdom of Isaiah. In fact Jewish legends, supplementing Old Testament narratives, were taken over in several instances by New Testament writers. Paul adopts the tradition about the rock following the wandering Israelites in the wilderness (I Cor. 10:4). The idea of the angels' mediation in the giving of the law appears in Gal. 3:19; Acts. 7:53; Heb. 2:2. The biblical "three years" for the duration of the famine in Elijah's day becomes "three years and six months" in Luke 4:25 and James 5:17. Salmon who is mentioned in the Old Testament merely as the father of Boaz, is said in Matt. 1:5 to have had Rahab as his wife. Further information about Moses' acquaintance with Egyptian learning is found in Acts 7:22, and the names of two Egyptian sorcerers who withstood Moses are given in II Tim. 3:8.

In thus drawing upon Jewish midrashim to supplement Scripture, the New Testament writers show how closely they followed in the footsteps of their Jewish predecessors. Indeed the general interests of the early Christian interpreter and the results of his work are more Jewish in type than one might at first imagine. To be sure, Christians had an entirely new interest at heart—they were not concerned primarily to enforce the law of Moses and the traditions of the teachers. But their method of emphasizing the supreme significance of Jesus and his work was not so very different

[3] According to Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, vi, n. 1, Obad., Ezra, Neh., and Esther are the only books to which the New Testament contains no allusions.

from the method of the Jews in setting forth the exemplary and inspiring qualities of Israel's ancient worthies. The literary form of the New Testament narrative has many points of likeness to the haggadic midrashim. Harking back to the ancients as examples for later generations and emphasis upon the fulfilment of prophecy are characteristic both of Judaism and Christianity. The preservation and elaboration of Jesus' discourses for the instruction of believers went on side by side with a similar custom in Judaism of referring to great teachers in Israel. The repetition of proverbial sayings, the explanation of hidden meanings, and the use of parables are familiar features in the Jewish as well as in the Christian thought. The work of the New Testament interpreter corresponds in a striking way with the description in Ecclus. 39:1 ff. of the duties of the ideal scribe: "He will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, and will be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the discourse of the men of renown, and will enter in amidst the subtleties of parables. He will seek out the hidden meaning of proverbs, and be conversant in the dark sayings of parables."

The exact content of the New Testament writers' "Bible" is not known to us. They were familiar with the threefold division of the Jewish canon—the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings (Psalms); but it is not likely that they concerned themselves with critical questions regarding the exact limits of canonicity. It was more in agreement with their free and spontaneous spirit to appropriate whatever suited their purpose. This free play of personal preference is evident even from a comparison between different Christian writers. The evangelists show a strong bias in favor of the Prophets and the Psalms. On the other hand, Paul and the author of Hebrews cite mainly from the Pentateuch; while the uncanonical Book of Enoch has largely influenced Jude and perhaps to some extent Revelation. Again, the first part of the Epistle of James draws its Old Testament language mostly from the Pentateuch, but in the second part the Prophets and the Psalms are more frequently used. Then there is also a wide range in the choice of quotations and allusions even when two authors are selecting their material from the same general field. For example the first and the fourth evangelists are each especially interested

to make it clear that Jesus fulfilled Old Testament prophecy, yet in the type of prophecy which each selects and in the manner of detecting the fulfilment these writers differ considerably. Thus it appears that each New Testament writer quoted from such books and such portions of the Old Testament as suited his particular purpose.

Nor did the Christians trouble themselves with critical textual problems. The great majority of citations are evidently taken from the Septuagint. This is true even where the writer, as in Paul's case, may have been able to read the original Hebrew, and where he probably would have found some variations between the Hebrew and the Greek texts. Aramaic seems to have been the language of the early Christian community in Jerusalem (Acts 6:1), so that in some parts of the gospel tradition Old Testament quotations may have passed through Aramaic into Greek; but our present gospels are genuinely Greek compositions written by men whose Bible was the Septuagint. Thus this version not only most naturally supplied the Old Testament renderings, but it also became in some instances a kind of literary model for Christian compositions (e.g., Luke 1:5 ff.). In general, then, it was the Greek Old Testament which the New Testament writers interpreted. But we cannot imagine that they took pains, as moderns do, to obtain a critically accurate text, and it is even probable that often they freely quoted or paraphrased from memory.[4]

The special interests which the authors of the New Testament seek to make Scripture serve are not only instructive, but also determine to some extent the interpretative methods employed. Its ordinary use both in private life and public worship to stimulate personal piety was naturally inherited from Judaism by Christianity. The distinctive thing in Christian usage was the scriptural argument of the new apologetic. The early believers, being themselves Jews, instinctively turned to the Old Testament for the constructive materials of their new theology. Moreover they must draw their arguments from this source if they hoped to combat successfully their Jewish opponents. If the new faith

[4] Cf. Mark 1:2 f., where a combination of Mal. 3:1 and Isa. 40:3 is cited as from "Isaiah the prophet." Matt. 27:9 cites Zech. 11:13 as from "Jeremiah."

was not "scriptural" it could not be true, but if it could be shown to be "scriptural" then it must be true. This was the stress point for primitive Christian thought.

Accordingly we find Paul sometimes deducing a labored argument from Scripture in support of special phases of his belief, while at other times he drives home a point by a forceful Old Testament phrase. Emphasis upon the atoning worth of Jesus' death and belief in his resurrection on the third day are fortified by reference to "the Scriptures." The doctrine of justification by faith is given an elaborate scriptural support in the letters to the Galatians and to the Romans. In a similar fashion the gentile mission is defended, and various phases of Christian thought and activity are stimulated through the use of Old Testament words. Christ's supremacy and the ultimate triumph of the Christian faith are also scripturally assured. In much the same manner the writer of Hebrews not only elaborates and defends the main items in his theology, but also encourages his readers to patient endurance amid the trying experiences of life. Paul and the author of Hebrews do not stand alone in this free use of the Old Testament to enlarge upon both the doctrinal and the practical phases of Christianity. Indeed the custom was probably quite general, as Christian leaders found it necessary to indoctrinate and encourage their fellow-believers.

In the gospel narratives, Old Testament language is found to serve several special purposes. At the time of Jesus' baptism, and again on the occasion of his transfiguration, God speaks in the language of scripture. It also furnishes material for the colloquy between Jesus and Satan in the temptation incident. Furthermore, many of Jesus' most solemn and forceful pronouncements are reproductions of Old Testament phrases, which perhaps accounts for the occasional difficulty in understanding these utterances. The ring of holy writ may sometimes have been prized above perspicuity. Jesus declares in the words of Isaiah that he has been endowed with the spirit to preach the gospel to the poor. The beatitudes are expressed in the thought and phrasing of Old Testament passages. Jesus, in pronouncing against divorce, cites Gen. 1:27, and affirms his belief in the resurrection by repeating

a verse from the "book of Moses." The question of the Messiah's Davidic sonship is propounded in the language of Ps. 110, and just what Jesus meant is still a problem. Zech. 13:7 is made the basis of a prediction that Jesus' followers will be "offended" by his death, and his final exclamation on the cross is the repetition of a picturesque expression from Ps. 22:1.

Thus Old Testament phraseology served to enrich the incidental and descriptive details of gospel narrative. But in addition to this it proved an efficient instrument in the evangelists' own argument for the messianic significance of Jesus. The Gospel of Mark opens with two prophetic passages cited to show that John the Baptist's work was preparatory to the Messiah's advent. Matthew and Luke carry this argument from scripture back into their accounts of the birth and childhood of Jesus and of John. In the story of Jesus' life the first evangelist especially points out particulars in which certain prophecies have come to explicit fulfilment (1:23; 2:15, 18, 23; 4:15, 16; 8:17; 12:18–21; 13:35; 21:5; 27:9, 10). Though the other gospel writers are less definite in noting the points of correspondence between Jesus' career and Old Testament predictions, it is clear that they all assent to the principle. In Acts scriptural support is also given for belief in the messianic character of the primitive Christian community.

Indeed it may be questioned whether the New Testament writers did not go so far in their use of the Old Testament as to make it virtually one of their sources in writing the history of Jesus and the community. This has evidently been the case with the first evangelist in one instance. In describing the preparation for the entry into Jerusalem, Mark 11:2 records that Jesus sent his disciples after a certain colt on which he wished to ride. In Matt. 21:2 the narrative of Mark has been combined with a free citation from Zech. 9:9: "Tell ye the daughter of Zion, behold thy king cometh unto thee meek and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass." The first evangelist, overlooking the Hebrew parallelism, thought two animals were intended—the ass and the colt—and the Markan narrative was therefore changed to make it conform to this interpretation of the passage from Zech. To what extent this principle of adjusting Christian tradition to suit

Old Testament passages affected the final form of gospel tradition cannot now be determined, but that it exerted some influence is beyond question.

Nor is it impossible that some items in the tradition may have been very largely colored by, if indeed they did not originate in, an Old Testament source. It seems strange, for instance, that Jesus, who by word and deed so clearly showed his interest in the welfare of all needy men, should announce that his parables were intended to hide his message from his hearers (Mark 4:12; cf. Isa. 6:9 f.); or that he who so emphasized love should declare his mission to be "to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household" (Matt. 10:35 ff.; cf. Micah 7:6). But a Christian who read the corresponding Old Testament passages in the light of experiences in the apostolic age might readily infer that they were genuine foreshadowings of the history. Hence it was only natural that Jesus should be credited with this same keenness of vision to detect the import of significant Old Testament prophecies. Perhaps a more striking instance of the use of the Old Testament as a "source" is to be seen in the account of Jesus' infancy as given by Matthew. Here the thought of each paragraph revolves about an Old Testament citation as its center (1:23; 2:6, 15, 18).

The methods of interpretation illustrated in the New Testament vary somewhat with different writers, but in the main they are the same as those employed by the scribes. With the Christians interpretation was less "professional," yet its methods show the same free handling of the text, the same disregard for the original historical setting and meaning, the same looseness in logic, and to a slight extent the same tendency to become artificial which characterized Jewish interpretation. A few illustrations will make this point clear.

The passage from Isa. 40:3, applied by the synoptists to John the Baptist (Mark 1:3; Matt. 3:3; Luke 3:4), reads in the Septuagint: "A voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make ye ready the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God." As the context in Isaiah shows, this is a description of a preparation for

Israel's return to Palestine from the captivity in Babylonia. God is represented as leading his people back to the Holy Land, all obstacles having been removed. But the absence of any messianic reference in the original passage does not trouble the evangelists. The words, apart from the context, lend themselves quite readily to this thought, so the original meaning is ignored in order that the passage may be used of John. This has necessitated a change of the clause "make straight the paths of our God" into "make straight his paths," since it is for Jesus' coming that John is preparing and Christians in the synoptists' day could call Jesus "Lord" but had not yet come to speak of him as "God." Similarly Mal. 3:1 (in the Septuagint), "I send my messenger and he shall prepare a way before me," becomes "I send my messenger before thee, who shall prepare thy way" (Mark 1:2; Matt. 11:10; Luke 7:27). In the original God was speaking about his own coming "unto his temple." The gospel writers, in order to make use of the passage for their purpose, had to disregard the original context and change the person of the pronoun from first to second. The list of such examples might be greatly increased.

The inference drawn from a scriptural citation is sometimes very doubtful, judged from the standpoint of strict logic. To illustrate, the words addressed to Moses in Exod. 3:6, "I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," are made a proof of immortality according to Mark 12:26 f. The two premises of the argument are (1) God is the God of Abraham, etc., and (2) God is the God of the living only; hence the conclusion (3) Abraham shall live, that is, shall rise from the dead, and by implication others also shall rise. There are several difficulties here. The fundamental one, so far as the use of the Old Testament passage is concerned, is the assumption that the future rather than the historic career of Abraham is meant. As an argument for resurrection the citation has no logical value. In a similar way Paul's argument from "seed" and "seeds," or from the comparison between Hagar and Sarah (Gal. 3:16; 4:22 ff.) fails to carry conviction. It is analogical, not logical.

But for the New Testament writers and their readers, rigid logic was not a necessity. They were moved by suggestions, figures,

types, analogies, allegories. How frequently words from the Old Testament serve to strengthen some worthy Christian conviction and to suggest a noble thought or act! Paul comforted himself and confirmed his resolution with such words as "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven" (Rom. 4:7) and "For thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter" (Rom. 8:36). He administers in scriptural terms a

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forceful admonition to the Corinthians against moral laxity (II Cor. 6:17), and the examples of the ancients become warnings and encouragements for Christians (cf. I Cor. 10:1–13). The author of Hebrews was particularly skilful in finding suggestive analogies. He argued for the certainty of Christian hope on the analogy of God's provision for Israel in the past, the universal high-priesthood of Christ was found prefigured in Melchizedek, and the tabernacle in the wilderness was a "shadow" of the heavenly tabernacle in which Christ, the Christians' high priest, ministered continually for his people.

The suggestiveness of these methods of interpretation is always open to the danger of overemphasis. The real meaning of a passage may disappear and an imaginary hidden meaning take its place. The result in such cases is a barren and artificial exegesis, as is so clearly illustrated in certain phases of rabbinical interpretation. The New Testament writers have in the main avoided this unfortunate result. Occasionally they play with word-derivations (e.g., Matt. 1:21–23), or revel in symbolism seemingly for its own sake (e.g., in the Book of Revelation); but in general their use of Scripture is determined by the practical needs of the Christian life. It is not surprising that they should have adopted current methods in defending their theological views; the more significant thing is that their motive for interpretation was for the most part vitally religious. It was born of experience in the new faith—a fact which probably accounts for the selection of so many Old Testament citations bearing upon the more serious side of religious life in Israel.

We should never forget that the scribe and the Christian interpreter were men of their own age. Their work is not to be measured by a modern criterion, but rather by the degree of fidelity with which they met the needs of their own time. Measured by this standard they are not found wanting. On the other hand, today we find ourselves confronted by new demands, in the light of which the value of our interpretation must be tested. If we were surrounded by the conditions of the first century a repetition of ancient methods might suffice, but in an age when historical and grammatical study goes in advance of the interpreter, and when scientific thinking demands that fancy shall be treated as fancy and fact as fact, the use of new methods becomes imperative.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

II. THE FUTURE LIFE IN THE TEACHING OF JESUS

PROFESSOR ERNEST F. SCOTT, D.D.
Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

The Christain conception of immortality, although it was developed under various influences from without, had its roots in the teaching of Jesus. It attached itself more immediately to the belief in his resurrection; but this belief derived its chief significance from the message which he had proclaimed, and from the whole impression of his personality and life. At the same time, while the teaching of Jesus was undoubtedly the source of the later doctrine, there are only a few passages in the synoptic record of his words which contain a direct reference to the future life. In the consideration even of those few sayings we have to make due allowance for ideas which belonged to current Jewish speculation rather than to his own characteristic thought. The promise of immortality which he bequeathed to men is not so much a matter of definite statement as of the larger implications of his religious teaching viewed as a whole.

The comparative silence of Jesus on a subject so vital to Christian faith has often been represented as strange and unaccountable. It has even been argued that like the Old Testament prophets he limited his outlook solely to the present life, and refused to concern himself with fruitless conjecture about the unknown future. His silence, however, is only comparative; and in any case it is easily capable of explanation. It was no doubt due, in the first instance, to the very strength and security of his belief. The future life was to his mind as certain as the present, and he did not feel the need of supporting the hope of it by elaborate argument. It formed the indispensable background of his whole conception of morality and of man's relation to God. The task which he laid on himself was not to impress on men the conviction of a future

life, but to teach them obedience to the will of God, on the basis of that conviction. Again, his seeming reserve on the subject of the hereafter was only the other side of his absolute trust in God. As he bade men take no thought for the morrow, assured that the heavenly Father would open up their way and provide them with all things needful, so he desired that they should trust God for the greater future. Instead of demanding some evidence or pledge of a life to come, they were to commit themselves wholly to God, and to his love and wisdom. The real revelation which Jesus brought to men was that of the character of God; and he meant that this revelation should stand in the place of all others. God has withheld from us the knowledge of his purposes; but we can know God himself, who will order all things according to his fatherly will.

These reasons would themselves be sufficient to explain the silence of Jesus; but we must add to them another and more specific one. The future life, as it presented itself to his mind, was inseparably bound up with his conception of the kingdom of God. In popular Christianity our Lord's whole teaching on the kingdom has often been read in terms of the future life. This is to misunderstand his thought at its very center; and the meaning of his historical message has thus been thrown into a hopeless confusion. None the less, the two conceptions were so far involved with each other that the hope of immortality did not offer itself to Jesus as a clear and independent theme for his teaching. It was already covered, to some extent, by his more general anticipation of the coming of the kingdom.

It is not necessary, for our present purposes, to discuss the precise significance assigned by Jesus to the idea of the kingdom of God. On not a few of even the cardinal questions that arise in this connection, New Testament scholars have differed, and will perhaps always differ. Did he adhere to the Jewish apocalyptic view, or replace it by another? Did he expect the coming of the kingdom by a process of gradual development, or by a sudden miraculous act? Did he think of the kingdom as wholly in the future, or as already in some manner beginning? However these questions are to be answered, one fact is becoming increasingly

certain. Granting that Jesus may have introduced new and more spiritual meanings into the current conception of the kingdom of God, he at any rate built on the groundwork of that conception. Like the apocalyptic writers he looked for a new age, in which the imperfect conditions of the present would be transformed. The natural world itself would undergo a renovation. Differences of rank and class would be abolished, and the relations of men to one another would be radically changed. A higher order of things would be inaugurated, in which the old interests and aims and activities would lose their meaning. Jesus declared that this new age is now at hand, so near that some who were listening to him would witness its advent. Those who had experienced the true "change of mind," and submitted themselves to that will of God which alone would rule in the future, would pass over into the kingdom, apparently without the necessity of death. But along with them, as in the current apocalyptic hope, the faithful servants of God who had lived and died in past days would participate in the new age. There would be a general resurrection, followed by the judgment; and when the Son of Man appeared in his glory he would assign to all their due places. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob would be the patriarchs of a new community of God's people, into which many would be gathered from the East and from the West. The wicked would be delivered over to punishment, while the just would inherit eternal life, in the society of God and his Messiah.

Jesus says nothing as to the scene of this final consummation. It is true that in accordance with the thought of his time he conceives of an upper region which is the peculiar abode of God and his angels; but he does not seem to contemplate the removal to this heaven of those who have won the kingdom. We may infer, rather, that he places the scene of their future blessedness on earth —not on the earth as it now is, but on the new and more glorious earth that will rise out of it. To Jesus, however, the question of the habitation of God's people was an indifferent one. He believed that in the coming age all barriers between the lower and higher worlds would be broken down. God would assert his sovereignty over his whole creation, so that his will would be done on earth, as in heaven.

It is evident, in the light of various sayings, that Jesus looked for a general resurrection, immediately before the judgment. But while this is his prevailing view, he appears to hold that at no time are men subject to absolute death. During the interval between death and resurrection they still continue in some kind of real existence, in which they anticipate the several destinies that will be allotted to them at the judgment. The parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus is not to be treated too literally. Jesus avails himself of a popular conception in order to give vivid and pictorial setting to the higher truth which he seeks to enforce. But the parable seems to indicate that he shared, at least formally, in the popular conception. He assumed that after death men passed directly into the underworld which is the common abode of all the departed; and that a distinction was made, even in this transitory phase of existence, between the righteous and the wicked. They dwell in the same region, within sight of each other, but are separated by an impassable gulf. The righteous are in happiness and the wicked tormented. A similar belief is possibly implied in the saying addressed to the thief on the cross: "Today thou shalt be with me in Paradise." The reference, as may be gathered from analogies in the apocalyptic writings, is not to the final home of the blessed but to an intermediate resting-place—the "Paradise" where the just await their resurrection.

In his more explicit references to the future life Jesus thus accepts, with little modification, the beliefs which had found a place in contemporary Judaism. Above all he incorporates into his teaching the characteristic Jewish idea of resurrection. The life hereafter is regarded as an additional life to which man has no inherent title, and for which he must be raised again by a divine act. But when we examine more closely into the thought of Jesus it becomes apparent that his acceptance of the current Jewish belief was only formal and accidental. He had arrived at his certainty of the future life along lines of his own, and was thus led to a conception of it in which the traditional views were wholly transcended. It was reserved for later Christian reflection to express this new idea in terms of doctrine; but in the recorded words of Jesus we can clearly distinguish it, in its several aspects.

1. From Judaism itself our Lord took over a thought into which he read a new significance, and which became for him the point of departure for a more profound and spiritual belief. The supreme good had always been summed up, for Hebrew thinkers, in the word "Life." As it is employed in the Old Testament, the word has necessarily a restricted meaning. Life is there conceived as the present life, with its days extended to the full term and all its joys and activities heightened. The psalmists and prophets include in it the knowledge of God, who is himself the living One and the source of all life in men. In apocalyptic thought the idea of life was transferred to the future. It was recognized that in the evil present man's nature must always be subject to hindrances and limitations which rendered any true fulfilment impossible. But in the coming age the righteous would obtain their inheritance. They would be raised up to an immortal being in which the troubles of the world would cease to vex them and they would enjoy a perfect freedom. "Eternal life," in the language of apocalyptic, became a synonym for the new age. As the chief good which would be realized in the kingdom, it stood for the kingdom itself. In the teaching of Jesus, likewise, the two terms are convertible; and he speaks almost in the same breath of "entering into life" and "entering into the kingdom." But he seeks to determine, as apocalyptic thought had never done, the nature of the life which would have its fulfilment in the kingdom. He distinguishes, in the first place, between life itself and the outward things which are so easily confused with it. "The life is more than meat" (Matt. 6:25=Luke 12:23). "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth" (Luke 12:15). "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own life?" (Matt. 16:26). Even more far-reaching is the distinction he makes between the physical and the inward moral life. "He that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life, the same shall find it" (Matt. 10:39; 17:25). The true life, the essential element of man's being, is something other than his life in the body; and it can only come to its own when this is sacrificed. In certain sayings it is suggested that men do not begin to live until they enter on the path of repentance

and faithful discipleship. Their natural state is one of death, and the work of Jesus is to raise the dead and bring them out into the true life (cf. Matt. 10:8; 8:22; 11:5; Luke 15:32). By another road than that followed in Greek philosophy, Jesus thus reaches the conception of a higher life which is independent of earthly circumstance and cannot be touched by death. The Greek thinkers had sought the essential and enduring attribute of human nature in the principle of reason; Jesus found it in the moral activity. By obedience to the will of God man is able to raise himself above the changing and the perishing and to lay hold on eternal life. The same truth finds a somewhat different expression in the idea of *reward*, which meets us so frequently in the teaching of Jesus. He describes the kingdom and the life which belongs to it as a recompense, bestowed hereafter for faithful service of God in the present. From this idea of reward he expressly excludes all notions of merit. His meaning is, rather, that obedience in the present has its necessary outcome and manifestation in the future inheritance. It carries with it the promise of life: it is itself the beginning of a new life, which will attain to fruition in the world to come.

2. In a similar manner, Jesus rests his assurance of the future life on his sense of the abiding character of those higher interests on which men are to set their hearts. He is confident that love and goodness and righteousness are in their nature imperishable. They will be the same in the coming age as in this; and no conceivable change of outward conditions can affect their significance and value. It follows that the life which has identified itself with those spiritual realities has its part in an eternal world. "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him to a wise man who built his house upon a rock" (Matt. 7:24). Such a man has "laid up treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt" (Matt. 6:20). The teaching of Jesus is everywhere pervaded with this sense of the everlasting nature of the spiritual things. He is wont to express it in language colored by his dominant conception of the kingdom of God. In the moral law he sees the law of the kingdom—the rule which alone will hold valid when the transient conditions of the present world

have come to an end. He calls on men to live for it because they will thus throw in their lot with the kingdom and insure for themselves a place in it when it comes. But the peculiar categories under which he gives utterance to his thought need not obscure for us its fundamental meaning. In the ideals of the moral life we have access to the ultimate realities. According as we follow them and make them one with our own will, we have the promise in our lives of something eternal.

3. By nothing else in his teaching did Jesus so profoundly change all religious thought, as by his insistence on the value of each individual soul. With this cardinal point in his message, his idea of the future life was directly connected. An adequate conception of the worth of the individual is indeed the very cornerstone of any true belief in immortality; and all previous religions had fallen short because of their want of such a conception. To the Old Testament thinkers Israel as a nation was the object of God's love and providence; in so far as individual men were to share in the glorious future, it was only as members of the chosen race. Greek philosophy had much to say about the worth of the reasoning principle which manifested itself in men. As participating in the life of reason men could lay claim to some vague immortality, though it resolved itself into little more than absorption into the universal mind. It was Jesus who first discovered an infinite value in man as an individual. As he revealed God in his character of the Father, whose mind toward us is one of love, so he taught that every human soul has a worth in God's sight. His watchful care is over each one of his children. The very hairs of their heads are all numbered. There is joy in the presence of the angels in heaven over one sinner that repents. And since all the souls of men have this value before God, we must needs believe that his remembrance of them continues in spite of death. "It is not the will of your Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish" (Matt. 18:14). The hope of immortality was thus invested with a new meaning and a new sanction. It was linked with the faith that we are the children of God, and can trust ourselves forever to his protection and love.

4. We thus arrive at the ultimate conception on which Jesus

based his promise of a future life. He was himself conscious of a relation to God which he could only describe as one of sonship; and he sought to bring his disciples into a like relation. The end which he sets before them in all their moral endeavor is this, "that ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:45). The life to which they will attain in the coming age, and which they can seek to realize even now, consists essentially in a living fellowship with God. It is no accident, therefore, that the one passage in his teaching where we meet with something like a reasoned argument for immortality turns upon this idea. The passage in question is his reply to the Sadducees: "As touching the dead, that they rise, have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead but the God of the living: ye therefore do greatly err" (Mark 12:26, 27=Matt. 22:31, 32; Luke 20:37, 38). Many modern expositors[1] have disparaged this saying as a mere instance of rabbinical subtlety, not altogether worthy of Jesus. Elsewhere he looks to the broad and simple meaning of Scripture, brushing aside the interpretations which had been forced on accidental words and phrases; here he himself resorts to a strained exegesis, wholly in the manner of the scribes. It may be argued, however, that if he employs the artificial method it is only that he may bring to light a truth which is really involved in the Old Testament teaching. To the Sadducees, Scripture was the sole authority; and they rejected the doctrine of the future life because Scripture was silent on it. But our Lord suggests that the doctrine, though not expressly stated, is implicit in the Old Testament promises. Israel was God's people because the fathers of the race had made a covenant with God; and their relation to him could be of no avail if it had been broken off by death. But in any case, the force of the passage does not depend on its correctness as an exegesis. The real aim of Jesus is to show what is involved in the idea of communion with God. Those who have once given themselves to God must belong to him always. He is the living God, in whose presence there can be no death; and to hold fellow-

[1] E.g., Wellhausen, J. Weiss, Loisy.

ship with him is to live forever. The certainty of the future life is thus grounded for Jesus in the very nature of God himself. Our communion is with an eternal God, who must therefore be the God not of the dead but of the living.

It is evident, then, that while formally accepting the Jewish ideas of his time, Jesus passes beyond them, and rests the hope of immortality on a deeper and wider foundation. Life in the hereafter is the reward of the present life—not a second term of existence but the outcome and fulfilment of that which is now in process. It is not dependent on the reanimation of the body, by an act of miracle. The real life even now is something apart from its outward conditions, from the body itself as well as from food and raiment and the things which a man possesses. It consists in the exercise of the higher moral activities, and above all, in communion with God. Those who live unto God have their portion already in the true and enduring life. Thus in the teaching of Jesus there is no real place for the traditional idea of a resurrection. Man has ceased to be regarded as a creature of earth, whose natural destiny is death and who must be raised up in order to live again. The future life is one with the life of faith and obedience which has its beginning now. It is consequent not on an act of miracle but on man's fidelity to his true calling as a child of God.

The attempt has often been made to construe from the words of Jesus some definite account of the nature of the future life. His authority is constantly appealed to in the well-worn controversies on purgatory, eternal punishment, the relations of the church above to the church below. It is indeed possible to adduce a number of sayings in which he appears to throw light on these and other riddles. He speaks of an outer darkness to which the wicked will be consigned, apparently without end. He declares that in the resurrection men will live like angels in heaven, and will sit down at the messianic banquet, and hold converse with the saints of the past. But we must be careful not to attach too much significance to these realistic details. Parallels to them are found everywhere in the apocalyptic books; and it is obvious that he merely took them over from the popular religion of his own day.

Between such traditional beliefs and the characteristic thought of Jesus we must always draw a clear distinction.

It is worth remarking that although he avails himself of the current ideas, Jesus never dwells on them or gives them prominence. To the apocalyptic writers all interest in the future life is centered on speculative questions; and this is true, in a hardly less degree, of the writers of the early church. Jesus does not concern himself with matters of speculation. He refuses to tell his disciples whether few or many will be saved. He answers the difficulty propounded by the Sadducees with a general statement that in the future world the conditions of the present will be wholly changed. We cannot but feel that even when he introduces details from the apocalyptic picture he employs them merely as an imaginative setting for spiritual ideas. The banquet in heaven becomes a symbol of the fulness of joy and the perfect fellowship which will fall to the lot of God's people. The allusions to the punishment of the wicked are likewise to be understood symbolically. Jesus did not profess to lay bare the secrets of the hereafter, but only declared, in a vivid and concrete fashion, that obedience would lead to life and wickedness to deprivation and death.

The endeavor to solve all the riddles of the future life in the light of the teaching of Jesus is due to a misunderstanding of his whole purpose. Behind his definite promises there lies, as we have seen, the demand for an absolute trust in God. The ways of God are hidden from us, but we can believe in him as our Father and seek for a closer fellowship with him. Jesus bids us rest satisfied with this trust in God, assured that it will not deceive us. We cannot tell what will befall us on the morrow, and much less can we pierce the mysteries of the great hereafter. But we can yield ourselves to the will of God, who will guide us from day to day according to his love and wisdom, and will fulfil all faithful service in eternal life.

THE HUMANITARIANISM OF THE DEUTERONOMISTS

REV. EDWARD DAY
Wichita, Kan.

As one passes from the old JE chronicles to the writings of the deuteronomists he finds himself among ardent humanitarians. The bards have given place to men of the prophetic type of mind. The art of the *raconteur* has yielded ground to that of the ethically alert exhorter and legislator. Avowed monotheists, the deuteronomists were profoundly interested in the purification and centralization of Yahvism and determined to root out all opposition thereto; but their intense devotion to their religious ideals did not keep them from an interest in man, at least the Hebrew man. Scholars differ as to the time to which they assign them, but all admit that whenever they lived, whether in the seventh century B.C. or the fifth, they certainly did not conceive their mission to be merely that of inaugurating a religious reform. They saw that many were impoverished and unprotected; that many were being injured by their fellows in life or in property; and that their people as a whole were wanting in moral leadership as they certainly were in spiritual guides. Hence, not being content to exhort, though they did exhort, they set themselves to edit the old chronicles of their people's past, and also to codify the old laws, decisions, and customs and to frame such legislation as the circumstances of their time seemed to demand. In the historical books, as we now have them, we come upon their editorial notes, stories, and addresses, and in Deuteronomy upon their hortatory discourses, often very suggestive, and their scattered enactments. Throughout their literary work they seem to have sought by exhortation, threat, curse, and story to wean their people from all worship of other gods and to make them zealous adherents of their new Yahvism; but they did not stop here. They came before their people as ardent humanitarians.

Among their people were many who naturally were regarded

as dependents. Not considering it humane to leave them to the mercy of those who should have felt responsible for them, the deuteronomists saw to it that they were protected by law. In a nomadic, or even in a semi-nomadic, society the number of stray

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THE PROPHETS
From Sargent's painting in the Boston Public Library

dependents is likely to be small. Clans and tribes in accordance with ancient customs have ways of caring for the weak and poor. But the deuteronomists, we are not to forget, were legislating for a society which though somewhat chaotic had long been settled in Canaan. Already there were foreigners in the land who had cast in their lot with Yahveh's people. Presumably these for the most

part were clients under the protection of certain Hebrews. Others may not have been so protected. Living as aliens in the land they were in constant danger of being preyed upon by their Hebrew neighbors. Their very presence in city or country was supposed to be warrant for their loyalty to Yahveh, though few efforts might be made to win them where they had not shown interest in the religion of Israel. But whatever their thoughts and their sentiments they were to be recognized as possessed of certain rights and were to be guarded therein. The earliest Hebrew code, the Book of the Covenant, forbade the vexing and oppressing of such aliens; and it also protected them in their right to the rest of the Sabbath (Exod. 22:21; 23:9, 12). This presumably had to do with the early days of the monarchy when the Hebrews had become one of the lesser world-powers and there was close touch with other peoples and the land of Canaan had proved a lure to many living among the older civilizations. But the deuteronomists were more specific than those who framed the Book of the Covenant; and they moreover went farther. Justice, they declared, was not to be denied the foreigner in their courts (27:19; cf. 1:16). Nor was one who chanced to be a hired servant to be treated inconsiderately (24:14, 17). He must be paid, like the hired Hebrew, his pittance daily; and he must in no way be oppressed (24:14 f.; cf. 5:14). The alien if poor was to be cared for as other poor were. The gleanings of the harvest must be shared with him (24:19). Then he was to have a part of the tithe levied every three years (14:29; 26:12 f.). It is admitted that under favoring circumstances the alien might prosper beyond the Hebrew neighbor (28:43). But whatever his estate he was to be loved by his Hebrew neighbors even as their God loved him (10:18 f.). Exacting as this must have seemed it nevertheless was incorporated in the priestly law long afterward (Lev. 19:34). At their great feasts such aliens as were making their home among them were to be allowed to rejoice before Yahveh (16:11–14). They also, if friendly, might stand with them when they entered into covenant with their God and when they listened to the reading of his law (29:11, 22; 31:12). The fact that interest could be exacted of them upon money or other property loaned them as it could not of a fellow-Hebrew

(15:3; 23:20), that the flesh of an animal which had died a natural death could be sold them as it could not one of their own people (14:21), and that there could be no intermarriages with the Hebrews (7:3) cannot be supposed to count for overmuch, because aliens would not look upon such statutes as unreasonable or as imposing any real hardship.

The fatherless and widow received their full share of consideration at the hands of the deuteronomists. Here the Book of the Covenant had been most outspoken. It had declared that they should not be afflicted, and reminded the people that if in any way they were oppressed by them Yahveh would certainly hear their cry and, his anger waxing hot, he would slay them with the sword so that their wives should be widows and their children fatherless (Exod. 22:22–24). This statute was not quoted by the deuteronomists, but apparently it was not overlooked, for they reminded their people that there was to be no perversion of judgment, these unfortunates must be justly treated always and at the local tribunals must not be turned aside because of their poverty (24:17 f.; 27:19). Their God, they are told, is one who shields the widows and the fatherless and executes judgment therefor (10:18). Especially were they to see that a widow's outer garments were not taken as a pledge or security for some petty debt (24:17). They were also to see that they had their share in harvest time (14:29; 24:19 ff.; 26:12 f.). The importance of this statute in their eyes appears in that they thrice mentioned it in their law book. They must also be allowed to bear a joyous part with them in all Passover and Tabernacle feasts (16:11, 14). Widows with children were left free to marry if asked; those without were provided for by the levirate (25:5 ff.). All these separate enactments must have had much to do with ameliorating the lot of these poor unfortunates; but it is presumable that the thought that they were under the special oversight of their God counted for more among the Hebrews, as, indeed, the loving way in which Jesus not only espoused the cause of the poor but identified himself with them has opened the hearts and purses of tens of thousands and done more than anything else to lift Christian charity to an enviable place in the philanthropic work of the world.

Like the widows and orphans the poor generally were most considerately protected by the deuteronomists. The people were reminded that they were not to harden their hearts against them; nor were they to shut their hands. Rather were they to open them widely and to give generously, even gladly (15:7–11). Just here we come upon one of those curious inconsistencies of the Book of Deuteronomy that reveal that it must have passed through different hands ere reaching its present form. They are given to understand that a time of prosperity is coming when there will be no poor in the land; yet a little farther on we read that the poor shall never cease out of the land (15:4, 11). In case of loans to the poor there must be considerateness in exacting pledges. Having received such pledges as the poor were able to make most easily they were to see to it that the pledged articles or garments were given back at nightfall. Millstones were exempt; because essential to the life of the poor, they were not to be taken in pledge (24:6, 10–13). Manifestly humane was the provision that such should not be oppressed, but should be paid at the close of the day the pittance which of right came to them for their work (24:14 f.). Servants, whether bond or free, were not to be worked on the weekly Sabbath (5:14). They, moreover, were to be allowed to rejoice with the Hebrews, as were the aliens, before Yahveh at their great feasts (12:18; 16:11). It must be confessed that the deuteronomists seem to have done little to encourage slavery. An escaped slave was not to be returned to his master; he must be allowed to dwell with him to whom he had fled, or at least among those in the place which he had chosen; while those guilty of stealing Hebrews and throwing them into slavery were to forfeit their lives (23:15 f.; 24:7).

It would seem that the most of the debtor class were poor. Hence the provision that interest was not to be exacted; and also the provision that in the seventh year, the year of release, the Hebrew debtor was legally freed from his obligation (23:19 and 15:1 ff.). This law, they were told, was to be operative so long as there were poor in the land. Even the Hebrew slave was to be set free on the seventh year in accordance with an early enactment (15:12; Exod. 21:2). This statute of the Book of the Covenant was

endorsed by the deuteronomists, who went so far as to provide that the slave should not leave his master empty-handed. He must be given grain and wine and must receive of the flock enough to establish him in his new life, a most benevolent provision. But, as was the case in the earlier code, if he expressed the wish to remain in servitude he was to be allowed so to do (15:12 ff.). The enactment against interest, it should be noticed, had to do with food supplies and whatever was loaned to satisfy another's need as well as money. This went further than the earlier statute in which only money was named (Exod. 22:25). We are hardly warranted in saying that the deuteronomists regarded money, as men regarded it in mediaeval times, as dead capital, as unproductive, for they had no hesitation in allowing their people, as we have seen, to exact interest of aliens.

These deuteronomists as the foes of the old local shrines, or high places, and as the friends of a centralized worship were most considerate in providing for the Levites who had been community priests here and there, presumably at local shrines, throughout the land. Not a solitary one of these was to be ignored if he left home and offered himself as a servant of Yahveh. Priestly duties were to be assigned him and provision made for his maintenance (18:6–8). The Levites were men without a patrimony: they had no inheritance in the land, hence, we are told, provision must be made for them (18:1 ff.; 26:11–13; cf. 10:8 ff.). This thought that the supposed tribe of Levi was originally without landed property seems to have been a late conception; perhaps because the clan or tribe of Levi was conceived to have been hopelessly shattered near the time of its entrance into Canaan so that thereafter only stray Levites were left to serve as local priests as they had opportunity. It would seem that Levites who performed priestly functions during the days of the kings might have accumulated some property, landed and other, and that the deuteronomists made it a rule that such patrimonies should be surrendered that they might cut themselves aloof from their old environments and devote themselves wholly to their duties at the central sanctuary (18:8). What we are specially interested to note is that the deuteronomists did not neglect these men who had been engaged

in sacrificial services which were abhorrent to them, but thoughtfully made ample provision for their maintenance and also gave their central sanctuary into their hands, for they were the only priests who had any part in their ecclesiastical scheme. Their disposition toward them appears moreover in the fact that they wished the very feasts in which they officiated to be to them feasts of gladness (12:12, 18; 16:11 ff.).

The hired servants and slaves were not the only members of their families who were included by the deuteronomists in their legislation. They took thought for wives and children as well, not wishing to leave it wholly to the heads of families to do as they would with these more helpless ones. Provision was made for protecting a newly married young woman of whose chastity the husband had suspicions. However inadequate the tests before the constituted authorities may seem they reveal the sincerity of the spirit of those who thus legislated (22:13 ff.). Divorce was made very easy; but the husband could not, if a wife had been found ill-favored in his eyes because of some blemish, send her forth without a written statement that was in the nature of a certificate of character and at the same time a clearance that made it possible for her to wed again (24:1 ff.). In case a man had two wives, both of whom had borne him children, he was not to be allowed to treat unfairly his first-born son, if he chanced to be a son born of a hated wife. The rights of such a son must be regarded by the father, whatever his personal wishes might be (21:15 ff.). A young woman, taken in war and made a concubine, could not, if unsatisfactory, be sold as a common slave. The captor must let her go whither she would. He could not humble her and then sell her as one possessed of no rights whatever (21:11 ff.). The newly wedded wife was not to be deprived of her husband should war arise shortly after he had espoused her. He must be excused from military service under the circumstances (20:7; cf. 24:5). It is true that this exemption from military service opened a way of escape for the young Hebrew who wished to avoid conscription; he had only to take to himself a wife when a foreign campaign seemed imminent; for the deuteronomists were so benevolently disposed toward the cowardly and faint-hearted

that they permitted all such to return home after once they had come to realize their moral insufficiency to a martial life (20:8). Yet a wife was no more to be shielded than a friend or a brother, a son or a daughter, in case she lured her husband from the worship of the God of his fathers to the service of other gods. She must be given up to the people to be stoned to death (13:6 ff.).

At a time when leaders in religious reform were wont to overlook children, these humane teachers did not overlook them. Frequently they reminded fathers that they were to teach Yahveh's law unto their children (4:9 f.; 6:7; etc.). They also declared that it behooved them to walk circumspectly in order that their children after them might be blessed (4:40; 12:25, 28). Fathers were not allowed to put their children to death, whatever their offense (24:16). It was taken for granted that the father would bear with and considerately treat his children; but that he would not fail to correct the disobedient (1:31; 8:5). In case a refractory son remained stubborn the parents must take him before the local court for discipline. In severe cases the refractory one might be put to death by the properly constituted authorities (21:18 ff.). They also provided that children who treated their parents with disrespect, with godless levity, should not be allowed to live (27:16 ff.). All children must hold their parents in esteem and treat them honorably (5:16). Yet at Passover and other feasts the children must be permitted to share in the general joy (12:12; 16:11, 14). The tithes which were to be eaten before Yahveh at the central sanctuary were to be shared with their children as well as with the priests and foreign clients (12:18; 14:23). Moreover, from assemblies on special religious occasions children were not to be barred out (29:11). Heads of families must see to it that their children were not made to work on the Sabbath. To both sons and daughters it must be a day of rest (5:14). Nor should they wrong them by giving them in marriage to neighboring peoples (7:3 f.). The deuteronomists were none too friendly to other peoples than their own; but one feels that their opposition to foreign marriages was in no small measure owing to the fact that such expatriation seemed to them a wrong to the sons and daughters sent abroad. With their abhorrence of child sacrifice

and their stringent prohibition of it we can sincerely sympathize (18:10; cf. 12:29 ff.). It was one of the crying enormities of those times; and the critical student of Hebrew life under the monarchy, both north and south, who is fully aware of the terrific extent to which such evils were practiced, can but commend these teachers for their stand just here. They were very considerate concerning the first-born son of a hated wife; but showed no mercy toward a child that lured a father from the worship of Yahveh (13:6 ff.). Ordinarily the deuteronomists sought to spare the children of a conquered city, presumably not alone for humanitarian reasons but because such might safely in case of sparse population be incorporated in the social body and become a part of the true Israel (20:14).

The deuteronomists seem to have endeavored by their legislation to protect their people in their lives and property. There must be no fraud in weights and measures (25:14 ff.). A man whose ass or ox had fallen in the way must be rendered assistance. His fellow-Hebrew must not unfeelingly pass by, ignoring him in his need (22:4; cf. Exod. 23:5). Theft was emphatically prohibited, (5:19). Domestic animals, when they strayed from home, must be returned, or held, if this could not be done, until their owner came for them (22:1 ff.; cf. Exod. 23:4). It may seem strange that the deuteronomists required the return of a domestic animal that had strayed while a runaway slave was not to be taken back to his master, but it is likely that they supposed a slave would not escape if he had been humanely treated. His running away was probably considered evidence of ill-treatment.

A curse was pronounced against those who made the blind to wander out of the way (27:18); also against him who removed his neighbor's landmarks (27:17). The first offense was peculiarly reprehensible, for the condition of a misled blind person is indeed pitiable; while the second offense was one that would prove specially exasperating in a settled country where, as in Canaan, the fences were few (19:14). A curse was also pronounced upon him who secretly smote his neighbor (27:24; cf. 19:11). It was vain for such an offender to escape to one of their cities of refuge, for at the hands of the avenger of blood he must be put to death;

while one who unwittingly smote another might flee thither and be acquitted (4:42; cf. 19:4 f.). It is supposed that the deuteronomists were responsible for the expansion of the tenth commandment as they were for that of others, as the fourth and fifth. If so they themselves first forbade coveting or lusting after a neighbor's wife and property (5:21). In their provisions for the treatment of certain dreaded diseases and their sanitary regulations these reformers were certainly most humane (24:8 f.; 23:12 ff., etc.). Adulterers were to be put to death; and most stringent laws were promulgated that were designed to protect women (22:16 ff., 22). Yet a damsel who had been secretly lewd was to be stoned to death if detected (22:21). Prostitutes were not allowed to live (23:17 f.). Such a statute may seem a hard one to be credited to humanitarians; but he who stops to reflect upon what a terrific battle the prophets were forced to wage against social impurity will feel that it was not enacted without humanitarian motives. Surely the larger interests of society were considered.

While the bastinado is deemed by us a most brutal form of punishment it is worthy of note that the deuteronomists limited the number of lashes which might be inflicted (25:3). Even the criminal that was hanged did not escape their consideration. His body could not be exposed a second day (21:22 f.). In warfare they were not to destroy wantonly those trees upon which man depended for sustenance (20:19 f.). One of the worst things about ancient warfare was the loss and consequent suffering entailed by such destruction. Often the devastation was terrific where the actual loss of life was small. Armies invaded a neighbor's territory with the intention of destroying the means of sustenance rather than with the expectation of capturing and destroying his cities. There was to be no escape for one who lodged false charges against another: as he would that others should suffer he must suffer in body or in estate (19:16 ff.; cf. 5:20). Most painstaking efforts were to be made to get at facts before the proper authorities. Ordinarily two witnesses must be brought forward in any civil or criminal suit (19:15; cf. 17:6). There was to be a supreme court of appeal in important or difficult cases. Such cases were to be carried to their metropolis, to their central sanctuary (17:8).

The provision for cities of refuge to which the man-slayer might flee and where his case might be considered dispassionately was one of the most humane enactments of their code (4:41 ff.; 19:4 ff.). If with Dr. Gray ("Numbers," *I.C.C.*, 464 ff.) and with Dr. Kent (*Beginnings of Hebrew History*, I, 291–94) we regard the allusions to Levitical cities of refuge in Num. and Josh. as belonging to the priestly narrative, we are left to suppose that the deuteronomists either were the first to recognize them or the first to enact legislation necessitating the setting apart of such cities. This latter supposition seems to be entirely in harmony with the history of the kings of Israel and Judah; for nowhere do we find the man-slayer fleeing to such a city of refuge. Rather he escapes to some shrine or local sanctuary.

In one direction the deuteronomists are thought to have been merciless: in their violent opposition to all image-worshipers and to all who adhered to other gods than Yahveh. As reformers this had been their main contention. Here unequivocally they had placed their emphasis. Their many editorial notes as compilers or revisers of J and E had to do largely with their new Yahvism and their efforts to extirpate old forms of worship, the local sanctuaries and their rites, and everything that had to do with other gods than their own. That Yahveh should be sought at a central sanctuary was not so much because they localized him in thought as because they felt that they could more easily control the character of his worship. As Dr. Driver has said: "Worship at different places would tend (as in the case of Baʿal, and many other ancient deities) to generate different conceptions of the God worshiped, and might even lead to the syncretistic confusion of Jehovah with other deities. The concentration of worship in a single spot was thus a necessary providential stage in the purification of the popular idea of God" ("Deuteronomy," *I.C.C.*, Introd., xxix). While we recognize this statement as valid we must not overlook the nature of their propaganda. They seem to have expected that fire and sword would be used in ridding the land of all traces of the worship they abhorred. It pleased them to imagine Yahveh to have given command through Moses for the extermination of numerous peoples, as those of Heshbon, of Bashan,

and of Canaan (2:30 ff.; 3:1 ff.; 7:1 ff.; 20:16 ff.; cf. parallel passages in Num. and Josh., most of which are deuteronomic). In the case of the latter the reason for the proposed extermination was given: "For they will turn away thy posterity from following me, that they may serve other gods." The reasons given for sparing the Moabites and the Ammonites must have seemed valid to the contemporaries of the deuteronomists, though hardly plausible to us (2:4 ff., 9, 19). Indeed provisions were made for the reception of descendants of these people into Israel, provisions which point to the fact that the Book of Deuteronomy was written prior to the time when they made themselves to be detested by the struggling people of Judea. This presumably was long after the fall of Jerusalem. It may have been in the Greek period. The deuteronomists could safely represent Moses as having given command to extirpate the Canaanites because by the deuteronomist period the Canaanites had so intermarried with the Hebrews that they had become entirely absorbed. It is not necessary to suppose that such an imaginative writing of their people's past, though they made it appear on the whole to be a very bloody one, really made their contemporaries more cruel. Few may have ever suffered death at the hands of men under deuteronomic influence. Even the story of Josiah's drastic reformation is probably a deuteronomic story, without any basis of fact, published one hundred or more years after that king's time. It is true that they did enact a statute that provided for the punishment of all who were found worshiping other gods and those who lured members of their families from the service of Yahveh (7:2 ff.; cf. 13:6 ff.). Death by stoning was to be the penalty; but it is doubtful if it was enforced; if, indeed, there was occasion for it. While, then, the provisions of Deuteronomy having to do with religious nonconformity were severe, serious as were the interests imperiled, it is likely they were made so largely for purposes of intimidation, and that at heart these men were more humane than their ecclesiastical statutes make them to appear.

The fact should not be overlooked that this school of reformers, who deserve to be named with the writing prophets, as creators of post-exilic Israel, in setting themselves to abolish the local sanc-

tuaries and the abominations for which they were responsible, did make provision for the slaughter of animals at home: "Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh in all thy gates, whatever thou dost desire, according to the blessing of Yahveh thy God which he hath given" (12:15; cf. v. 21). This was thoroughly in keeping with the humanitarian thoughtfulness of the deuteronomists.

Nothing that has been brought out in this paper seems, in the thought of the writer, to militate against the conviction that the deuteronomists, however old many of their laws may have been, and some as we have seen were taken bodily from the Book of the Covenant, did not live and labor before the fall of Jerusalem, as most scholars surmise. It was as one of the early waves of the returning exile that they found their opportunity of winning the people to their new Yahvism. In doing this, as men profoundly humanitarian, almost as much so as the early writing prophets, they sought to soften and humanize the lives of their people. If, as pious Zionists, they made a notable contribution to the religion of Israel, they none the less did much as ardent humanitarians to civilize their people and make them prosperous and happy.

THE SINLESSNESS OF JESUS

REV. JOHN LEARD DAWSON
Sussex, N.B.

In dealing with this theme one has first to say who Jesus was and is, then ask what it would be for such a person to be sinless, and, finally, to determine, if he can, whether Jesus was really sinless or not. In giving our answer to the first of these questions we may state an affirmation which comes to us from every side—He was a man. The New Testament writers lead the way here, telling us of his birth and infancy, his boyhood, his consecration to God, his temptations and distresses, his prayers to his divine Father, his human agony in Gethsemane and on the cross, and of his death and burial. While they most positively affirmed his resurrection from the dead and his ascension to glory, they still spoke of him as "Jesus of Nazareth, a man . . . ." "and how God consecrated him his Christ by enduing him with the Holy Spirit and with power" (Acts 2:23; 10:38). When Paul asserted the unity of God and the existence of one mediator between God and men, he declared that this mediator was "the *man* Christ Jesus" (I Tim. 2:5). It is in these same New Testament writers, of course, that we find the doctrine of both his pre-existence and persistence as the Son of God. But constantly and consistently they represent him as having become a man, and seem never to have been troubled by any feelings of perplexity in view of his complete humanness. They believed he had no independent authority, but received continuous authorization from his Father. He could not even perform his first miracle without a clear intimation that it would be well-timed. They taught also that his power to do deeds that were beyond the ability of others did not spring from within, but came upon him from without; and that he himself anticipated that these deeds would be exceeded by those of his followers. They even saw in his life the proof that apart from heavenly aid, incessantly given in answer to prayers that were

sometimes associated "with earnest crying and with tears," he would have failed both in his mission and his personal career. And when his earthly task was ended and he was about to pass from their sight to the Father, they understood him to say that the enlarged authority then given him was strictly delegated authority, and would continue only until the Father had through his instrumentality, along with the mightier instrumentality of the Holy Spirit, secured the complete triumph of the principles of love and truth which he had been sent to exemplify and enforce. In brief, Jesus was, to his apostles, a man while he was here in the flesh, and still a man after his resurrection and entrance upon his glorified career in the invisible. That is to say, he was God become man and continuing as such.

These apostles were Jews, not Greeks. They were, therefore, content to abide without questioning in what they regarded as their world of ascertained facts. They rejoiced in the essential greatness of their Master and Savior. Had they philosophized at all, they would have said that the pre-existent Son of God did not in becoming a man cease to exist. Had he ceased to exist he could not have become a man at all. He had not ceased to exist, but only to exist as God. Hence, though now he was a man, he was divine still—the God-*man*.

What they did say, or, rather, what they continually assumed, was that everything that he had done as Creator, Upholder, and Revealer, prior to his incarnation, had now to stand associated with the name of Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ of God; since it could be credited to no other either on earth or in heaven. An individual's record attaches to himself alone, no matter what the changes which may take place in him. So to them he was "Jesus Christ yesterday and today—yes, and for ever." He was the one who came down, stayed here for a time in our humanity, and then, in our humanity glorified, went up to where he was before. In his own person they saw him lift this humanity of ours, even while he was here in the flesh, to heights only imagined before. And all he did he did as a man.

Accepting, therefore, all that the New Testament writers affirm about the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus, we must recognize

that it is as a man that we are to consider him when we ask whether he was sinless or not. But we cannot intelligently proceed with our inquiry until we have first named one of the outstanding facts of our humanity. This fact is ignorance. To enter upon a human career is to begin as a babe, with no knowledge at all, and always remain a learner. It must not be forgotten that the New Testament writers present Jesus to us as both a babe and a learner. It is recorded of him that he grew in knowledge in his boyhood. He did not know at the time of his baptism on what precise line he was to conduct his career, and it was only as he moved cautiously forward that all became clear. During two years or more of his public life he did not think of his ministry as meant for any but Jews. When on his one vacation outside the territory of his own people, he declared to a pleading Canaanitish woman that he had no mission to her or her people. There and later he learned a new lesson regarding his own work. He confessed his ignorance of the time of a future event, and told his apostles, even after his resurrection, that the Father had reserved "times and hours . . . . for his own decision." We have no hint either that he had a wider geographical or literary knowledge than the men of his time. He had no reputation whatever for learning. What gave him superiority and authority was his amazing spiritual insight. He read the heart of God and the heart of men as no other ever did, and so was wiser than all others in the essential things of human life.

His knowledge and originality, even in the field of ethics, can easily be overestimated. He did not originate either "the first and great commandment" or "the second." Thou shalt love thy God with all thy powers and thy neighbor as thyself arrived ages before his coming. He found these commandments in the sacred writings of his people, and codified and illuminated them in his teaching. He was ahead of his times on divorce, on oaths, and on the requital of injuries, but he never even hinted at the great moral reforms of recent years. The Father had not made him acquainted with the "times and hours" in which the great principles he affirmed would work themselves out in these and all other particulars. From the standpoint of the moral reformer, as well as from that of the scholar, he was a man of his own time.

Now knowledge has so much to do with the correctness of human conduct that no thinker on the subject believes it possible for a life which is perfect in the sense of being complete in every particular to be lived, until the time arrives when all the relationships of men toward each other, with all the duties arising out of them shall have become fully known. Ignorance is one of the greatest foes to progress, and progress is the one road to perfection. If, then, the perfect life is the life which is complete in every particular, Jesus did not live the perfect life. His times did not make it possible. The best he could do was to live as complete a life as was then within reach. And he would find it the same today, if he were here in the flesh, and living in the most Christian country on the planet. If, therefore, sinlessness and full-blown perfection are to be considered as one and the same thing in connection with a human life, it cannot be claimed that Jesus was sinless. But this is by no means the last word on the subject.

We have now reached the place where it is necessary to state the self-evident fact that the claim that Jesus was sinless must be judged by the ethical standards of those magnificent men who first put it forward. What did the New Testament writers mean by sinlessness? After we have discovered this, and decided whether Jesus was sinless in the sense in which they used the term, we can, if we wish, ask whether sinlessness in their sense could be regarded as sinlessness here and now.

It can be said at once that the principle which guided the New Testament writers in this matter is the common-sense one that the attitude of an individual toward good and evil is not to be found in any outward act whatever, but in the disposition and purpose from which his acts proceed. They held that to make himself a sinner against God in connection with any given action the doer of the deed must at least fear beforehand that he would in that way either injure his neighbor or disobey or offend his God, or that he would thus disobey and offend his own conscience. They held, that is to say, that as far as ignorance existed it stood forth as a valid excuse for any act or word which was wrong in itself, and that as far as knowledge of its wrongness stood associated

in the mind of the doer or speaker of any such word or act, it was proof positive of guilt on his part. Luke and John present the following as words of Jesus himself on this subject: "The servant who knows his master's wishes and yet does not prepare and act accordingly will receive many lashes; while one who does not know his master's wishes, but acts so as to deserve a flogging, will receive but few." "If I had not come and spoken to them, they would have had no sin to answer for; but as it is they have no excuse for their sin. . . . . If I had not done among them such works as no one else ever did, they would have had no sin to answer for; but, as it is, they have both seen and hated both me and my Father" (see also John 9:41). Paul's words in his letter to the Romans are terse and clear—"Where no Law exists, no breach of it is possible. . . . . Sin cannot be charged against a man where no Law exists. . . . . Love fully satisfies the Law." Over against this last word may be placed this strong one of John, "Every one who hates his brother is a murderer."

Jesus and his apostles after him emphasized knowledge, on the one hand, and disposition on the other. They taught that to love was for the person loving to abstain at once and continually from everything known by him to be injurious to the object of his affections, and to do instead every helpful thing that lay in his power; and that a man should love his very enemies. It was by this high standard that the apostles of our Lord measured him. Let us listen to some of them as they announce the result. Peter says, "He 'never sinned, nor was anything deceitful ever heard from his lips.' He was abused but he did not answer with abuse; he suffered but he did not threaten." On the contrary, "He 'himself carried our sins' in his own body to the cross, so that we might die to our sins, and live for righteousness." Peter knew Jesus better than any other man, excepting John, perhaps, and his deliberate written word is that Jesus never sinned in either act or speech. He never showed wrong disposition, but went to the cross, even, in the spirit of a love that carried every sinner on its heart in yearning for his salvation. John's testimony is that "in him sin has no place." He never admitted sin into his nature; so sin never prepared itself a room or abiding place there. "Holy, innocent, spotless, withdrawn from sinners," is the description

given of him by the writer of the letter to the Hebrews. And his word concerning his own consciousness, according to John 8:28, 29, was, "I do nothing of myself. . . . . I say just what the Father has taught me. . . . . I always do what pleases him." No sins of presumption, no running before he was sent—obedience to the Father represented by every word he uttered and every deed he did; is the claim that welled up from the clear depths of Christ's own knowledge of himself, according to the writer of the Fourth Gospel.

Does someone say, "After all, however, he was a man of his own time, as we are of ours, and his obedience was only as far as he knew. We know more of the particulars of human righteousness than he did, just as those who come after us will know more of them than we do. So admitting his claims in full, it must be remembered that he could not have lived a complete human life"?

Such words as these have a foundation in fact which we have already recognized, and they deserve careful attention. The first thing that should be said in view of them is this: He convinced men whose chief business in our world was the pursuit of righteousness and real holiness that he never once failed where they did—that his inner life, as well as his outward, was in perfect harmony with all of moral good and the will of God that he did know. And they saw so much in his life beyond what they had ever been able to build into their own that they regarded him as knowing practically everything. Instead of having to make apologies for his ignorance, they stood amazed at his knowledge. This is clear. It is equally clear that no other man ever impressed the heart of his fellows in this manner, and to the same extent. No other man was ever regarded as sinless by the holiest of his contemporaries, who were at the same time the men who knew him best. Here Jesus Christ stands forth unique and glorious, clothed with the perfect calm which could enwrap only the man whose fine composure had never been disturbed by any self-accusings. It was to the holy he seemed holiest, and to them he seemed perfectly holy.

Now how would a life of this sort be regarded if it should present

itself in one of our towns or cities today? It would certainly be misunderstood and persecuted. But how would it impress men after it had run its remarkable course and reached its extraordinary termination? If a man should arise among ourselves whose every word and act, and his very dispositions, were as far as we could see in perfect harmony with the law of love toward both God and men, from the beginning to the end of his career—if he should seem in our eyes never to have been a transgressor in even the slightest particular, but to have given himself without a moment's cessation to the most unselfish service, alike Godward and manward; would we speak of him as having been sinless or not?

We know what sin is. We have long defined it as any transgression of, or want of conformity to, the law of God. And when we have been asked to define the law of God, we have done it in two ways, and said (1) It is that perfect and complete ethical code which is to be found in the absolute holiness of God himself; and (2) It is that same code as far as it has become a matter of knowledge to any individual whose character or conduct may happen to be under consideration. When we are asked why we have the two definitions, and not one only, we answer that we need the first, because we must keep ourselves reminded that the holiness of God has more of duty and privilege in store for us than any man has ever seen as yet; and we need the second as a standard with which to measure individual accountability, on the one hand, and individual moral worth, on the other; since the first cannot be used in this way at all, on account of the fact that beyond a certain point no man has ever yet known what it is in its various particulars. In other words, no man can test another by the standard of absolute holiness. For no man knows what that standard is, except in part. He can judge only by the particulars he knows, whether it is himself or another he has under scrutiny. So any man who should in disposition and purpose, as well as in word and deed, live in complete and positive obedience to all the requirements of the divine holiness, as far as they had become known to him, would be sinless from the viewpoint of his own consciousness. And if any man with a larger knowledge of these requirements than any or all of his contemporaries should attain to this complete and

positive obedience, he would be sinless, not only from the viewpoint of his own consciousness, but also, and even more distinctly, in the unprejudiced opinion of all who knew him. That is to say, if Jesus had led a nineteenth-century life with the same devotion to God and duty that he showed in the first-century life that he actually did live, there would be no hesitation on our part in ascribing sinlessness to him today, particularly if he had begun his public career during the second half, beginning, let us say, with 1875.

Sinlessness is one thing; absolute holiness, and even complete human righteousness, another. It was probably because Jesus, the human learner, had discovered this for himself that he turned so sharply once upon a flattering inquirer with the word "Why do you call me good? No one is good but God." The New Testament claim for Jesus is simply that he was sinless.

Jesus was not jealous of those who were to succeed him. He was at once too generous and too sure of himself for that. He knew the future would be his, and rejoiced all the more because those who were to follow him would surpass him in their grip upon the whole human situation, and in the things they would be able to accomplish. He knew that their success would be his, along with the whole new order of things which he came to establish, and retired to superintend under his Father.

Our conclusion touching the sinlessness of Jesus is this: Complete human righteousness follows upon complete human knowledge along ethical lines, and can never be attained apart from it. Jesus came fairly to open up the way for this attainment by living a life in perfect inner agreement with the highest principles that can ever govern a human career, and in complete harmony with the fullest ethical knowledge of his time; that is to say, he came to do, and actually did, all that a man of his time could possibly do along the lines of ethical duty. And in doing this he accomplished a thing which was never done before, and has never been done since. He never failed in either disposition or purpose, but lived toward both God and his fellows, from first to last, a life that was, not only to those holy men who knew him best, but also to his own highly enlightened and sensitive conscience, free from

every stain of wrongdoing on the one hand, and of neglected duty on the other. It may be confidently added that in achieving this moral and spiritual triumph he reached in principle a height beyond which no man can ever go. For it is impossible for anyone to do more than live up to his own highest light. And, let me repeat it, the glory of that achievement, so far, belongs to Jesus Christ alone.

One other question seems to demand an answer before this discussion closes. Was sinlessness easier for Jesus than it would be now? Let each find his answer as he notes the tremendous odds which truth and righteousness had to face in that old world of decayed and abandoned ideals. Will sinlessness be easier or more difficult when all men have at length through Jesus been lifted to the same high level? They will then all be helpers of each other, and they will remember to his glory and praise that he alone kept man's highest way when the task was all but impossible even for himself, and every man he met was to some extent, at least, a hinderer.

Fra Angelico

CHRIST AS A PILGRIM

Exploration and Discovery

THE RYLANDS PAPYRI

The newly published volume of Rylands Papyri (*Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, Vol. I), edited by Arthur S. Hunt (1911), contains sixty literary pieces, ranging in date from the first century before Christ to the sixth century of our era. Twelve of these are biblical or Christian. There are three papyri of parts of the Septuagint Old Testament (Deut., Job, Psalms) and two of parts of the New Testament (Rom., chap. 12, and Titus, chaps. 1, 2). This last was written in the third century, and so ranks with the Oxyrhynchus Matthew and John in age. An interesting hymn (sixth century) and several liturgical fragments, together with a certificate of pagan sacrifice from the Decian persecution (A.D. 250), the sixth such document thus far published, complete this remarkable group of Christian papyri.

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION TO CYRENE

Wide attention has recently been drawn to the American expedition to Cyrene by the tragic fate of one of the leaders of the expedition, Mr. H. F. DeCou, who was shot by disaffected Arabs on March 11, 1911. The great promise of Cyrene as a virgin field for excavation has long been suspected, and in recent years definitely affirmed, as a result perhaps of some hours spent at the spot by a party of scholars a few years ago. The place is difficult of access, and the dangers from the ignorant and fanatical native population have been clear from the first. Richard Norton, the director of the present expedition, landed at Bengazi, North Africa, in May, 1910, and with an escort of soldiers and a small caravan of animals, made a journey of several days along the coast, eastward, through Tokra and Merdj, to Cyrene. This preliminary and exploratory visit was followed in the autumn of 1910 by the commencement of operations at Cyrene. Work began on October 29, and continued through the winter. Brief preliminary reports in the *Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute* show that remains of spacious Roman and Greek buildings were immediately uncovered. Notwithstanding the lamentable death of Mr. DeCou work is to be resumed this coming autumn. The vast proportions of the ancient city offer an unlimited field for work, and the expedition promises much for the archaeology of New Testament, as well as earlier, times.

Work and Workers

The Bennett Museum of Christian Archaeology at the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., was opened May 22, 1911, with an illustrated lecture on "The Art and Monuments of Early Christian Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries," by Professor George N. Olcott, Ph.D., Columbia University.

Dr. Carl Clemen of the University of Bonn has recently been transferred from the theological to the philosophical faculty, and appointed professor of the science of religion (Ausserordentlicher Professor für Religionswissenschaft) in that institution.

Karl Bornhausen, of the theological faculty at Marburg, is spending the spring and summer in visiting American seminaries, universities, and summer meetings.

At the request of Solomon Feingold, editor of *The Truth*, a weekly paper published in Jerusalem in English, French, and Hebrew, we make the following citations from an article recently appearing in that paper. The matter is one that concerns directly or indirectly a relatively large number of people.

Our foreign readers will doubtless be surprised to learn the strange fact that among the eighty-seven thousand inhabitants of Jerusalem, there are no less than 15,000 professional mendicants who thrive and wax fat upon systematic imposture, practiced upon the benevolent and simple-minded of every country on the face of the globe.

Addresses are procured by specially delegated and well-paid agents who travel all over the world with the main object of collecting the names of all those Jews or Gentiles who are likely to extend their sympathies to the poor and suffering of the Holy City.

Millions of addresses are thus received with characteristic and voluminous annotations, minutely depicting the nature of each individual, his business, his religious denomination, and very often his or her eccentricities and hobbies, so that the petitions may be drawn up accordingly and thus touch the right chord in the compassionate soul of the recipient.

It is estimated that these high-class epistolary beggars send out about 50,000,000 letters per annum and the post-offices are reaping harvests in consequence of this flourishing business. In order to gain the patronage of these mendicant associations, the various postal administrations vie with each other by offering greater reductions and better conditions, and great facilities of payment for stamps.

Book Reviews

MOFFATT'S NEW TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION

James Moffatt is well known to students of the New Testament through his *Historical New Testament*, which with its tables, introductions, and analyses has been widely used. It was in essence an introduction to the New Testament, and gave a hint of what might be expected of its author in this direction, but it was on no such scale as the new volume in the "International Theological Library."[1] Of this new book it may be said at the outset, that no such work on New Testament introduction has ever been produced in English, and few in other languages can compare with it. It is free, incisive, and encyclopaedic; profoundly learned, comprehensive of all shades of opinion, and generally candid and unbiased.

Moffatt's valuable historical tables dealing with the Roman Empire, Jewish and Christian literature, and Greek and Latin literature from 230 B.C. to 375 A.D. compose the bulk of his prefatory material, and give a hint of the wide range of his patristic and other citations. In his preface, he reminds the student of the two commandments of research: to work at the sources, and to learn the literature of the subject, and it is in this excellent spirit that the work is written. In his Prolegomena (pp. 1–58), Moffatt presents an illuminating survey of the method of introduction, of the relation (or non-relation) of canonicity to introduction, of the traditional arrangements of New Testament writings, of the structure and composition of the New Testament, its literary forms and characteristics, and the early circulation of its several documents. In all this the historical approach is faithfully, and sometimes brilliantly, observed, and many an underlying or adjacent problem is handled with freshness, insight, and learning.

The first chapter, "The Correspondence of Paul," is prefaced with a compact summary of ancient, mediaeval, and modern works on the Pauline epistles. Not the least striking feature of Moffatt's work is found in these brief comprehensive bibliographical summaries with which the several discussions are introduced. The clear movement of Moffatt's treatment in this notable chapter has been somewhat obscured by the printer, book-title, chapter title, and names of epistles alternating in

[1] *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament.* (International Theological Library.) By JAMES MOFFATT. New York: Scribner, 1911. xli+630 pages. $2.50.

the head-lines on no very intelligible principle. The work of von Dobschütz and of Harnack on the Thessalonian letters appeared too late to be taken account of here; but nothing of importance in print when Moffatt wrote would seem to have escaped him. Moffatt accepts the two Thessalonian letters, Galatians, the two Corinthian letters, Romans, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians (not Ephesians and the pastorals), and treats them in the order given.

A second chapter deals with the "Historical Literature, the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts"; a third with "Homilies and Pastorals"—Ephesians, Hebrews, and the catholic epistles, except I John; a fourth with the Apocalypse, and a fifth, unnamed, with I John and the Gospel of John. The ten pages of index at the end are helpful, but are quite inadequate to cover the immense range of names and subjects dealt with in the book.

Of individual positions much might well be said. Moffatt adheres to the North Galatian destination of Galatians, but he has an uphill fight to defend it, and his list of arguments against the rival theory (p. 99) is surprisingly weak. Ephesians is regarded as a general homily addressed to gentile Christians by a Paulinist, between 75 and 85 A.D. For the synoptic problem, Moffatt holds to the mechanical Q criticism, now prevalent. In identifying Q with the Logia of Matthew he recovers for the Two-Document Theory the external testimony on which it was originally built, and apart from which it shows so little strength. One wonders why he still calls this second source in German fashion by the algebraic Q, when he knows its name. Moffatt is better acquainted with other theories besides his own than most recent synoptic writers. But it is strange that the two so-called "interpolations," small and great, in Luke, with their striking Mark-free bodies of material, have not suggested to him a saner path by which to approach the synoptic labyrinth. Moffatt favors the Petrine authorship of I Peter, explaining the Pauline touches as due to the hand of the amanuensis Silvanus. II Peter "is a catholic epistle, addressed to Christendom in general" in the second century. The John of the Apocalypse is probably the presbyter John, well known in the Asian circle. The Fourth Gospel is later than the Synoptics and earlier than 110 A.D. It is the work not of the apostle, but of his circle, and it is only when taken as symbolic that its narratives yield their full meaning. In all his positions, Moffatt writes with freshness and originality, and while he may occasionally misspeak himself, or express himself abruptly, there is in general a distinct quality about his style. In his discussions, he more than once refuses to be hurried

into a decision where the evidence is not sufficient to warrant one; a habit which will disappoint, but should reassure, the reader.

Moffatt has shown a truly cosmopolitan spirit in his handling of the literature; no other writer on introduction has equaled him here. Trojan and Tyrian are treated alike—British, continental, and American scholars are brought under contribution to enrich these crowded pages, and British scholarship is to be congratulated upon this work, which is, as it should be, the best New Testament introduction in the English language.

Many lapses in matters of detail, most of them doubtless mere misprints, should be corrected in a later edition, and to that end are noted here:

ἐπιστόλη (p. 18), εὐσεβεία (p. 28), αἰωνί, ἔων (p. 33), ἀκρόασεις (p. 45), ἀπάντησις (p. 71), ψάλμοι, I Cor. 15:15 for 14:15 (p. 80), ἐλθῶν (p. 82), ὦν for οὐκ (p. 89), μετρόπολις (p. 97), ἰδοῦ, ἑτοιμῶς (p. 110), τὶ (p. 114), οἱ ἐκ Χλόης for οἱ Χλόης (p. 116), Wortschätz, τελείοι (p. 155), σκία (p. 157), οἰκοδομεῖσθε for -σθαι (p. 173), ἀξιῶς (p. 176), τετραμόρφον (p. 206), πιστέως (p. 216), ἐν τῷ ἐρήμῳ (pp. 219, 229), ἄρχη (p. 221), πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας, πωρώσις (p. 233), κοίνη (p. 236), σφύρις (p. 237), papyrus for parchment, ὅτε for ὅτι, ἔτων (p. 242), ὑλῆς (p. 263), τούτον (p. 264), γενεσέως (p. 270), πεπληροφορουμένων (p. 272), πίων (p. 278), ὄνικος (p. 279), προστίθεναι (p. 297), πιμπρᾶσθαι (p. 298), πρόκοπτω (p. 300), πνίκτα (p. 307), ἐκ αὐτῶν (p. 311), Θύεστεια (p. 324), θέος (p. 348), πνευμάτικοι (p. 355), ἐπιγνώσις (p. 359), second century for third? (p. 390), Ἐφέσιους (pp. 393, 397, 432), Antiochen (p. 394), ἴδου (p. 407), ἠσθενοῦν (p. 422), τὶ οὖν (p. 426), ἄρχη, τελείοτης (p. 427), Ἑβραίους (2d) for Ἑβραίοις, ἀναθεώρεω, βοηθεία (p. 435), μετόχοι (p. 436), ὑπομενεῖ for ὑπομένει (Jas. 1:12) (p. 458), προσώπον (p. 459), ἴδου (p. 463), ἀντιλεγομένα (p. 479), ἔαν (p. 481), ἀγαπήτος (p. 482), ἀλήθης, χάρα (p. 501), τῶν for τὸν (p. 506), νάος (p. 511), διδάσκάλος (p. 524), αὐτοδιδάκτος (p. 526), δαιμονία (p. 533), ἐκμάσσειν, στόα (p. 535), πόσακις (p. 543), Chwolsohn (p. 547), ἐφωνήσα (p. 565), ἔαν (p. 572), Peter's for Peter (p. 576), ἀντιχρίστοι, Χρίστος (p. 585), ψύχικοι (p. 588), παλαίος, δικαιόσυνην, οὐράνος (p. 590), βαπτίσθη (p. 595), παρακολουθηκώς (p. 598), βαπτιζήσεσθε (p. 602), κνὶ (p. 603).

Mere omissions of accent, frequent before enclitics, and a few even more obvious misprints are not included in this list. A strange preference for Tischendorf over Westcott-Hort appears in numerous accents, breathings, spellings, and readings: θλῖψις (p. 79), ὡσεί in Luke 8:42 (p. 265), κρυφῆ (p. 386), Τυχικός (p. 394), δευτεροπρώτῳ (p. 266), εὐθέως (p. 278), Ἰωάννης, Ἑβραῖος, Ἱερουσαλήμ, etc. (but observe Hort's Ἰερουσαλήμ, etc., p. 279), ὄρνιξ (p. 542); see further pp. 30, 542. Is Dr. Hort being forgotten in his own land? Or has the sheer weight of

German textual inertia overcome Dr. Moffatt? The less correct "autor" (*passim*) and "Brundusium" (p. 451) are disturbing. And while precision in proper names is most desirable, and the Vulgate has clearly influenced us too much in Calvary, Olivet, etc., spellings like Kapharnaum, Ikonium, Thessalonika, Polykarp, Timotheus, Judas (of the epistle) only go half-way (why not still more precisely Thessalonike, Ioudas, Polykarpos, etc.?) and effect no real improvement. But these are trifles in comparison with the great and undoubted excellences of Dr. Moffatt's work. It is probably somewhat too technical at times for the general reader; but the student of the New Testament will find it indispensable.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

CHAMBERLIN, GEORGIA LOUISE. The Hebrew Prophets, or Patriots and Leaders of Israel. A Textbook for Students in Secondary Schools and for Popular Study. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1911. Pp. xviii+237. $1.00.

This book has already demonstrated its fitness for use by students of high-school grade. Having been published in parts during the past year, it has been in use in a large number of classes and has met with hearty praise. It is abundantly supplied with maps and illustrations and in every way made attractive to the young. It is certainly one of the best volumes in the series of Constructive Bible Studies to which it belongs.

JEREMIAS, ALFRED. The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East. Manual of Biblical Archaeology. English Edition, Translated from the Second German Edition, Revised and Enlarged by the Author, by C. L. Beaumont. Edited by C. H. W. Johns. 2 vols. New York: Putnam, 1911. Pp. xlii+683. $7.00.

This is on the whole the most comprehensive presentation of the view that represents the religion of the Old Testament as in very large measure descended from the astrological and mythological systems of the ancient East which are best preserved in the religion and literature of old Babylonia. The work of translation has been well done, and the book in its English dress is an advance upon the German original in form and contents as well as in price. It is not a book for the casual reader, but for the diligent and careful student. Even though the theory of the author should fail to find approval, yet he and his translator deserve our gratitude for the large amount of information they here make accessible to the English reader.

WRIGHT, WILLIAM ALDIS. The Hexaplar Psalter. Being the Book of Psalms in Six English Versions. Cambridge: The University Press, 1911. Pp. vi+389. $8.00.

The six versions here printed in parallel columns are those of the Coverdale Bible (1535), the Great Bible (1539), the Geneva Bible (1560), the Bishops' Bible (1568), the Authorized Version (1611), and the Revised Version (1885). In addition to these six versions, printed in their original form as to spelling, etc., Dr. Wright gives in the Appendix the marginal readings of each version and the variations in the successive editions of the Coverdale Bible and of the Great Bible and also of the Bishops' Bible. The volume is of interest and value from many points of view aside from the story it tells of the development of the English Bible. It offers, for example, materials for a history of the English language during the last four hundred years.

SNYDER, H. N. Selections from the Old Testament. Edited with Introduction and Notes. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1911. Pp. xix+210. 30 cents.

These selections are from the Authorized Version and are intended to meet suggestions of the National Conference on Entrance Requirements that selections from the Old Testament be accepted as part of the entrance requirements in English literature. The introduction states a few common facts regarding the origin of the King James Version and the character of the Old Testament. The notes are very few, but for the most part reliable and helpful.

KING, E. G. Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews. Cambridge: The University Press, 1911. Pp. xv+156. 1s.

The title is somewhat misleading, since the book includes selections from the whole range of Old Testament poetry. It is used, however, in distinction from neo-Hebraic or post-biblical poetry. The workmanship is on the whole very good. But there is lacking any visible unity of method or purpose in the treatment and the result is somewhat in the nature of fragmentary sketches. Many suggestions of interest are presented.

BROWN, J. History of the English Bible. Cambridge: The University Press, 1911. Pp. vi+136. 1s.

An excellent résumé of the interesting story of the development of the English Bible. The main facts are related in an effective manner and the text is supplemented by excellent illustrations. For the busy man, no better summary of the history could be desired.

BLACK, J. SUTHERLAND. The Book of Joshua. [The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools.] New ed. Cambridge: The University Press, 1910. Pp. 145. 1s.

HOW, J. C. H. Joel and Amos, with Introduction and Notes. [The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools.] Cambridge: The University Press, 1910. Pp. 119. 1s.

These two little books belong to a series which dispenses with all technicalities and aims at meeting the needs of students in secondary schools and of the common man. It is doubtful if the almost total disregard of the questions raised by modern scholarship and of its generally accepted conclusions is altogether wise. The average man needs to know what is going on in Bible-study. Within this limitation these commentaries will be found very useful by the average Sunday-school teacher.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

HILL, J. HAMLYN. The Earliest Life of Christ Ever Compiled from the Four Gospels, being the Diatessaron of Tatian (*ca.* A.D. 160) Literally Translated from the Arabic Version and Containing the Four Gospels Woven into One Story. With an Introduction and Notes. Second Edition Abridged. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1910. Imported by Scribners. Pp. 224. $1.25 net.

A convenient reprint of Hill's translation of the Arabic Diatessaron, with a popular introduction.

The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools. The Gospels of Sts. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the Apostles. New editions, revised and enlarged. Cambridge: University Press. Five volumes. 30 cents each.

The original editions of these very useful books, written by Carr, Maclear, Farrar, Plummer, and Lanchester, appeared twenty years ago. They have served a highly useful purpose during this period, and in their somewhat modified form will still be valuable helps for less advanced biblical study. It is only to be regretted that the revision has not been more thoroughgoing and modern. The use of Scrivener's *Cambridge Paragraph Bible* for the body of the text has necessitated many corrections in the notes. The comment is in general intelligent and helpful, but the introductions are disappointingly weak on the critical side.

ABBOTT, EDWIN A. The Son of Man, or Contributions to the Study of the Thoughts of Jesus. Cambridge: University Press, 1910. Pp. lii+873. 16s. 6d. net.

It is the contention of Dr. Abbott that in using the term "son of man," or "Adam," Jesus meant to describe himself as the representative of man as God intended

him to be, i.e., of "divine Humanity." Properly seeking, in Jesus' favorite designation of himself, a hint of his idea of his mission, Dr. Abbott applies this interpretation to the leading features of Jesus' work and teaching, and finds them illuminated by it and it confirmed by them. Dr. Abbott's method is minute and painstaking, and his argument at some points seems a little visionary, but there is much of value and suggestiveness in this monumental volume.

ROBERTSON, A. T. Kurzgefasste Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch, mit Berücksichtigung der Ergebnisse der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft und der Koine-Forschung. Deutsche Ausgabe von Hermann Stocks. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911. Pp. xvi+312. M. 6.

Friends of Professor Robertson will be interested in this attractive German edition of his *New Testament Grammar*. The lists of literature have been remodeled, revised, and rearranged by the translator, but are still not wholly accurate. They are admirably comprehensive, however. An index of Greek words is sorely needed.

ROBERTSON, ARCHIBALD, AND PLUMMER, ALFRED. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. (International Critical Commentary.) New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. lxx+424. $3.00 net.

This new volume on I Cor. fills an important place in New Testament literature. The introduction is clear and compact; the epistle is referred to the early months of 55 A.D. The English paraphrase puts one at once in possession of the editors' general understanding of a passage, and the comment is in general learned and helpful, although at some points, as on the Lord's Supper, a more strictly historical treatment would have been welcomed. The commentary will be fully reviewed in a later number of the *Biblical World*.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

TRINE, R. W. The Land of Living Men. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1910. Pp. xxiv+288. $1.25.

A book that by means of the concrete presentation of facts and an interesting style sets forth the injustice of the conditions that prevail throughout the economic and social world of today. It constitutes a plea to good and just men everywhere to work together for the betterment of society.

CROSS, GEORGE. The Theology of Schleiermacher. A Condensed Presentation of His Chief Work, "The Christian Faith." Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1911. Pp. xi+544. $1.65.

A careful and sympathetic study of the teachings of one of the greatest theologians of the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. This book will serve to make Schleiermacher better known and appreciated by English readers.

MOTT, JOHN R. The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions. New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1910. Pp. viii+251. $1.00.

A strong presentation of the opportunity now offered for aggressive and successful missionary activity the world over. The broad range of the author's vision and the sanity of his policy are conspicuous.

FRANK, HENRY. Psychic Phenomena, Science, and Immortality. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 556. $2.25.

The author seeks to demonstrate the immortality of the soul by an appeal to science. He decides that the soul is a "subtle substance" within the body which persists after the disintegration of the body. The demonstration is far from being convincing.

MACDONALD, L. B. Life in the Making. An Approach to Religion through the Method of Modern Pragmatism. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 223. $1.00.

This book is of interest as showing how one pragmatist at least thinks of God and religion. For him, God is; but it is each man's right to say for himself what He is. The only obligation pragmatism lays upon him is that he shall hold no theories about God and life that do not affect his experience in some way.

DERR, E. Z. The Uncaused Being and the Criterion of Truth. To Which is Appended an Examination of the Views of Sir Oliver Lodge Concerning the Ether of Space. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. vii+110. $1.00.

A critique of the current pragmatic philosophy by an adherent of an older type of idealistic philosophy.

VAN DYKE, JOSEPH S. Be of Good Cheer. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 119. $1.00.

A good deal of practical common-sense and true piety and too much of poetry that lacks either beauty of form or inspirational qualities make this a commonplace book.

TAYLOR, R. O. P. The Athanasian Creed in the Twentieth Century. New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. 170. $1.50.

This writer as an official called upon to recite this creed frequently in his public ministrations subjected it to a fresh examination with the satisfying result that he finds no reason "for parting with one word of the Creed" and has "come to value it more highly because he understands it better." He accepts it thankfully with the doctrines of the Two Natures, the personal Devil and his angels, and other historic articles.

ROBINSON, H. WHEELER. The Christian Doctrine of Man. New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. x+365. $2.25.

The five chapters of this work are given to (1) The Old Testament Doctrine of Man, (2) The New Testament Doctrine of Man, (3) Dogmatic Anthropology, (4) The Contributions of Post-Reformation Science and Thought, (5) The Christian Doctrine of Man in Relation to Current Thought. The survey of the extended history of this great complex of ideas is well and carefully done. The problems discussed have been in the center of theological debate since theology began. Dr. Robinson's position is a self-consistent one and from his viewpoint some dark problems can be illuminated.

MACDONALD, D. B. Aspects of Islam. [The Hartford-Lamson Lectures for 1909.] New York: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. xiii+375.

A valuable summary of the leading teachings and characteristics of Islam for the use of those intending to minister as missionaries in Mohammedan lands. As the ripe fruit of the accurate scholarship and long study of a leading Arabist, the volume will find a welcome not only from those for whom it was written but also from scholars in general.

SOARES, T. G. A Baptist Manual. The Polity of the Baptist Churches and of the Denominational Organizations. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911. Pp. xii+156. 75 cents.

A valuable *vade mecum* for the pastor or church official, affording guidance in the conduct of almost any conceivable business that might come before a Baptist church. It is in no sense an authoritative compendium of Baptist law, there being no such thing. But it is an excellent statement of prevailing usage in Baptist churches.

THE SIDON SARCOPHAGUS: ALEXANDER IN BATTLE

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Editorial

THE RELIGION OF THE COLLEGE STUDENT

Within the next month thousands of young men and young women will enter the colleges and universities of the country, and thousands more will resume their studies after a summer's vacation. For practically all these students the period of their residence in college will be not only one of acquisition of knowledge or of preparation for a profession, but also one of great significance for their religious life. In these few years they will pass from the religion of childhood into that of comparative maturity. Truths which have so far been to them merely lifeless traditions will now begin to be matters of vital interest. Each individual student will believe himself a discoverer in a new world. Alone, and for the most part unaided, each one will work out a readjustment of his inner life which shall be in harmony with the demands of this new, larger and more real world of duties and opportunities.

The religious ideas which these young people have brought with them to college will be subjected to a process of examination and criticism, and the result of this process will have an important influence in determining the convictions which they will thereafter hold, and the attitude which they will maintain to the institutions of religion. Moreover, the path which these take who are now passing through the period of their education will go far to determine the course of thousands more who will be influenced by them. It is a matter of the highest importance for the cause of religion and for the welfare of the country what sort of influence the colleges of the land are preparing to exert upon their students.

What opportunities are the colleges offering to their students

for instruction in the fundamental facts of the Christian religion? What help is being given them in order to insure such a readjustment of faith as will henceforth command the respect and confidence of the students who have made it?

In no small measure the colleges owe their existence to the influence exerted by Christianity. In the midst of the institutions of this religion, and in an atmosphere in no small part created by it, most of their students are to live their lives. Is it not as obligatory upon the colleges to give to their students an opportunity to acquire some real knowledge of the origin, history, and principles of that religion, as to do a similar service in respect to their country? How many colleges are doing this, and doing it adequately? Some, undoubtedly. Many, we fear, are not, and among the latter are some that owe their existence most directly to the Christian church.

But it is not enough that the college should offer instruction in the subject of religion. It is no less important that such instruction should be adapted to those to whom it is offered. There is no occasion to exaggerate the difference between the college student and the rest of the community. The boy that goes to college is not necessarily brighter or abler than his brother who enters the manufactory or the counting-room. Still less is he certain to be wiser than the father and mother to whose self-sacrifice he owes his educational opportunities. But it remains true that the great business of the college is to teach young men and women to think, and to act rationally, instead of following impulse or tradition. Moreover, the habit of thinking once acquired is apt to extend itself to all phases and aspects of life. These things must be taken into consideration in the determination of the kind of instruction that shall be offered to college students in the field of religion, and when taken into consideration they demand that such instruction shall be for substance scholarly, and for spirit frank and open-minded.

If religion has fallen into discredit today with intelligent men and women, one of the chief reasons is that Christian teachers, instead of fearlessly facing facts and frankly answering questions, have too often "hedged and trimmed," both in private and in the

classroom. A real student wants the truth; he has a right to it. We can never have the highest type of Christianity until young people are set free in the presence of Fact and Truth. Love of truth and inbred reverence will be their sufficient safeguard in the moment of enlarging vision. God is behind all his truth. Let the student learn this great fact and he is forever free to investigate, and no field need be held exempt lest its weaknesses be uncovered. The freer the investigation, the stronger the resultant faith.

The protest that is often uttered against intruding upon the attention of the people questions concerning religion calculated to disturb their minds and unsettle their faith has a certain basis of justification. Life is not scholarship. It is but one of the many instruments by which life is enriched. But this protest has its very definite limits as respects the student. He is, indeed, as yet of relatively immature mind. He still has much of the mere acquisition of fact to achieve. For research in any advanced form he is as yet unprepared. Yet the spirit of investigation is in the atmosphere. The ultimate appeal in all the classrooms of the college is to facts, not to the opinions of authorities. It is in the last degree inexpedient, not to say impossible, to create a different atmosphere and employ a different method in the teaching of the Bible and religion. The principle of adaptation just as much requires that the teaching of these subjects to students shall be in the true sense scholarly as that the street preacher shall put his message simply and directly without overmuch refinement or reasoning.

But again, it is not enough that the colleges offer to their students opportunities for instruction in religion and ethics. Knowledge alone makes no man good, and opportunities offered do not always signify opportunities seized. The colleges have, in effect, invited parents to intrust students to their care. It is true that these students are not children and cannot be treated as such. Manhood and womanhood are not developed by excess of watch-care. Nevertheless it remains that many college students are still in a formative period of life, and the colleges themselves are morally bound to take account of the moral welfare of the student

body as of its intellectual development. Strict classroom requirements have themselves a moral value, but they require to be supplemented by agencies and influences more immediately concerned with the presentation of high ideals of life and the development of noble character. The ideal situation exists when members of the faculty feel and voluntarily show a purely unofficial and friendly interest in the students individually. But when such interest is for any reason lacking or inadequate, the college is bound to see to it that the lack is made good in some other way. The student who goes through the four years of his college course without having found in the faculty some friend to give him timely and wise counsel on the problems which are certain to confront him has missed something that he has a right to expect from his college.

There is probably today no place in which a young man will, on the whole, be subject to influences more calculated to make of him a man of broad outlook, liberal views, and strong character than the college. But there yet remains much to be done, both in the direction of instruction and in the creation of atmosphere and influences conducive to these ends. Forward must still be the watchword of all those institutions which assume the responsibility of training those who are to be pre-eminently the educated men and women of today.

INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLE BY THE FATHERS

GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT
Dorset, Vt.

For the purposes of the present article the vague term "Fathers" may be limited to the period of about three centuries from Clement of Rome to Theodore and Augustine. If we were considering the Fathers chiefly in their influence on subsequent generations, we might divide this period in the middle, letting our survey end with Origen, for the later Fathers did not materially alter the type of exegesis which is best represented in him; but the topic suggests a survey of the Fathers by themselves, irrespective of their influence on after ages, and therefore we cannot neglect the ephemeral school of Antioch.

In discussing the exegesis of the Fathers one is not called upon to give an estimate of their character and services, or to determine how far they were loyal to the best light of their respective generations. Fortunately the task is much narrower than that. If this sketch discloses a method that was fundamentally false, it does not therefore imply that we of this generation are handling the word of God with any greater fidelity or deeper reverence than characterized Clement and Justin, Irenaeus and Origen. We do not pass judgment on them if we declare their exegesis false. A survey of their use of the Bible should rather make one more conscious of the vast debt one owes to the labors of modern scholars by which the interpretation of the Bible has been rescued from the lawlessness and folly of early ages and has been given a scientific basis.

The orthodox exegesis of the second century is seen at its best and most fully in Justin and Irenaeus. The writings of the former show how deeply Christian interpretation was affected by Greek ideas, and those of the latter show a slight development due to the gnostic heresy. Through Justin and the other apologists the classic conception of inspiration was brought into Christian literature—a conception that allows to the human agent in the

production of the sacred writings only a mechanical value. The prophet in prophesying is in an ecstatic state, as was the sibyl, and his soul is no more than a flute through which the Spirit breathes or a lyre which is struck by the *plectrum* of the Spirit.

In Justin, too, in a pre-eminent degree, we find the interpretation of the Old Testament profoundly affected by the Logos doctrine. The beginning of the influence of this doctrine on Old Testament exegesis doubtless lay far back of Justin's day. Clement of Rome ascribed some passages in the Psalms directly to Christ, and in view of the later epistles of Paul it is easy to suppose that Clement had predecessors in this practice. But in the extant literature of the second century it is in Justin that the doctrine influences Old Testament interpretation most extensively. Wherever in the Hebrew Scripture God is said to manifest himself, there according to Justin the Logos is meant. Hence "wisdom" in Proverbs is identified with the Logos, likewise the "Son," the "Glory of God," and the "angel of God." This was indeed a taking of the Old Testament away from the Jews and transforming it into a Christian book! And there could scarcely be a greater sin against historical exegesis than this.

In Justin again, in the third place, the most characteristic and valuable part of the Old Testament is its so-called predictive element. Justin did not introduce this view, for we find it very clearly expressed in Clement of Rome and its germs are in the New Testament itself, but he emphasized it and established it as a principle of interpretation. It is an axiom with him that the work of God—that which most clearly reveals his activity—is to tell of a thing before it happens, and his greatest interest in the Old Testament was to find in it predictions of Christ. These he discovered everywhere. Thus even Jacob foretold that Jesus would enter Jerusalem riding on an ass, and the Twenty-fourth Psalm predicted the ascension of Christ into heaven.[1] In this view of Old Testament prophecy and its central importance Irenaeus was at one with Justin.

Finally, in Justin and Irenaeus we have a wide and more or less

[1] These illustrations and most of those that follow are taken from the writer's book, *The Interpretation of the Bible*, 1908.

systematic spiritualizing of the Old Testament. This was not at all confined to them among the writers of the second century. The tendency is no less pronounced in the Epistle of Barnabas—to mention a single instance. The author of this writing held that the true meaning even of such a law as that in regard to clean and unclean animals was a "mystery" and designed for the Christian church. He found in the number 318 in the story of Abraham's pursuit after Chedorlaomer the doctrine of redemption by the cross of Jesus, for the first two letters of the name Jesus have the numerical value 18 and the Greek letter *tau* (T), which is the sign of the cross, has the value 300—a mathematical demonstration of the correctness of an exegetical method! As an illustration of Justin's spiritualizing exegesis we may mention this, that he saw in the roasting of the paschal lamb a symbol of Christ's suffering on the cross. He discovered this in the fact (?) that in the lamb when roasted there were two spits in the form of a cross. Justin sometimes found in a prophetic text both a historical and symbolical meaning. Thus the foal and colt in Jacob's Blessing were those which were brought to Christ as he entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday and they were also symbols—the foal a symbol of the Jews (for it is assumed to have been *harnessed*, and were not the Jews harnessed under the Law?), and the colt a symbol of the gentiles. Irenaeus carried the same spiritualizing method into the New Testament and even into its *narrative* portions. Thus the fact that the disciples were in a *recumbent* position when Jesus gave them the bread and wine indicated that those to whom he ministered on earth were *spiritually dead*.

Irenaeus—it should be said—was not without some appreciation of the historical sense of the Scripture text, due probably to the extremes to which the Gnostics carried the spiritualizing interpretation. He insisted that words should be taken in their natural sense, regard being had to the context, and that clear passages should be used in explaining those that are obscure. These points are excellent, but—"it's a good divine who follows his own preaching." Irenaeus could insist on holding to the natural sense of a text, and yet find in Ps. 85: "Truth is sprung out of the earth," a proof both of the virgin birth of Jesus and of his resurrection!

One word that is more favorable to the exegesis of the second century. In Polycarp and more clearly in Ignatius we see the New Testament placed above the Old. "Jesus Christ," said Ignatius, "is in place of all that is ancient"—a statement that seems to indicate a sense of *development* of Scripture. Polycarp quoted almost entirely from the New Testament. But though there appears to have been in these writers some recognition of a great principle of interpretation, it did not make a permanent impression.

We pass on now to the third century and its yet more fatal dower to the church. When we read Clement of Alexandria we are vividly reminded of Philo, who had flourished there two centuries before him. The Bible was to him, as to Philo, a book of enigmas, and the one key to it was allegory. To Clement of Alexandria belongs the distinction of having used the key more constantly and comprehensively than any Christian before him. Obviously he felt the *need* of using this key more deeply than any writer before him except Philo. He held that the text of Scripture has *three* senses—literal, moral, and spiritual. This was a clear advance on Justin, whose spiritualizing was rather incidental than systematic and who did not clearly go beyond a *twofold* sense of the text.

Origen was a pupil of Clement, and carried out to a more elaborate form his doctrine of the threefold sense of Scripture. He labored also as a text-critic, but this labor bore little permanent fruit, while his method of interpretation survived in power until the Reformation.

It is of interest to notice how Origen grounded the doctrine of the threefold sense of Scripture in the Bible itself. He found his basis for it in the Septuagint rendering of an uncertain Hebrew word in Prov. 8:20. In so doing his fault, while characteristic, was manifold. He followed the LXX without critical support; he built a great superstructure on an obscure text; and he extended to *all* Scripture a word which obviously applied only to a part of the single Book of Proverbs.

Origen held that, of the senses of the text, the literal or historical is not always present, but the spiritual sense is never wanting—the exact opposite of the modern view at this point.

Little need be said of the other evidence brought forward by Origen to corroborate the doctrine of a threefold sense of Scripture. He thought it was confirmed by the constitution of man as made up of body, soul, and spirit, though even if this were accepted as a true analysis of man, one does not see any connection between it and the doctrine in question. Again, in the "two or three firkins" of the story of Jesus at Cana, Origen saw a proof of his doctrine. This water contained in the firkins was for purification, and the clause "two or three" indicated that the Jews were sometimes cleansed by two of the senses of the Scripture text, sometimes by all three. Other proof he found in what he regarded as a fact, viz., that some Scripture cannot be taken literally—his position was only partially true—and still further in the isolated instances of allegorical interpretation in the Bible itself. Obviously neither of these points confirms the doctrine of a *threefold* sense of Scripture.

Another feature of Origen's exegesis is to be noted. We see in him more clearly than in earlier writers the determinative influence of the Christian standard on interpretation. With him nothing is to be accepted as truth which differs in any respect from ecclesiastical and apostolic tradition. Since that tradition held the inspiration of Scripture, he held it, and seems also to have emphasized its vigor, for he declared that we should be obliged to give up our trust in the gospel were a single discrepancy discovered in it. Again, since tradition held the divinity of Christ, Origen concluded that John was the chief of the gospels because it "plainly declares" this doctrine. This illustrates how dogmatic presupposition affected his interpretation. But we must deal gently with Origen on this score, for the error is one that still flourishes in an age of greater light than he enjoyed.

The Alexandrian type of exegesis dominated in the West as in the East, and through the great theologians it affected statements of faith which are still held in the church. Generation after generation was content to go to the Bible as a book of enigmas and to exhaust itself in the discovery of hidden meanings. Jerome had some knowledge of Hebrew and of biblical geography, but he was essentially in line with Origen on the fundamental question of the manifold meaning of the sacred text. So with all the Fathers

in the West of whose views we have knowledge. Athanasius and Augustine, the most influential of the theologians, were at the same time most uncritical and lawless in their use of Scripture. Augustine had no knowledge of Hebrew and thought the Greek translation equally inspired. While rejecting the view that the Bible is all to be understood allegorically, he yet had little use for the literal meaning, and his great interest was in the allegorical interpretation of obscure and unpromising passages of Scripture. The simpler the text, the more excruciating the exegesis. The more obscure the passage, the more wonderful its secrets. Take one or two instances. Ps. 97 has no superscription in the Hebrew Bible, but in Augustine's text it had this: "A psalm of David when his land was restored." This "restoration" of David's land Augustine held to mean the resurrection of the flesh! Even Ps. 23 is interpreted allegorically. The speaker is the church, the "shepherd" is Jesus, and the refreshing "water" is that of baptism. The "heavens" in Ps. 8, which are said to be the work of God's fingers, are the Old and New Testament; the "moon" is the church and the "stars" are individual local churches. "All sheep and oxen" are the holy souls both of men and of angels!

The finding of mystic meaning in Scripture numbers was cultivated by Augustine no less than by Philo, and indeed all the later Fathers were more or less given to it. Athanasius found the most abstruse of theological doctrines in the *thrice* repeated "holy" of Isa. 6:3. Augustine found a double reference to the mystery of the Trinity in the number 153—the number of the fish taken by the disciples in John, chap. 21. For this number contains fifty *three* times with a remainder of *three!*

If the exegesis of the Fathers of the West is characterized by its allegorizing of Scripture beyond any other single feature, it contains also all those conspicuous qualities which were mentioned in the sketch of second-century writers.

In speaking of the biblical exegesis of the West as being of the Alexandrian type, it is not meant that it was due wholly to Alexandrian influence, still less that it was due to the influence of Clement and Origen. Without doubt these writers did have great influence, but we find allegorical interpretation in writers like Hippolytus and

Cyprian who were contemporary with the Alexandrian Fathers. If space permitted, I should like to give some illustrations of the exegesis of Cyprian, e.g., his elaborate biblical proof that it is not lawful to use either water alone or wine alone in the Lord's Supper, but only water and wine mixed. Two or three brief specimens may be cited from Hippolytus. The "house" of wisdom in Prov. 9:1 is said to mean the New Jerusalem, *or* the sanctified flesh. The three things by which the earth is moved (Prov. 30:21) are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the fourth which it cannot bear is the last appearing of Christ. The three things that "go well" (Prov. 30:29–31) are the angels in heaven, the saints upon earth, and the souls of the righteous under the earth. The fourth that is comely in going is the Word who passed in honor through the virgin's womb.

The second and third of these illustrations are especially characteristic of the fondness of the age for allegorical interpretation, inasmuch as the Scripture text declares plainly what the three and four things are.

But we must turn for a moment to the hopeful beginning of a better type of exegesis that was made in the East. Various men were associated with this movement—Dorotheus, Lucian, and Diodore—but those who best represent it to us were Theodore of Mopsuestia and John Chrysostom. The great merit of these writers was their regard for the historical sense of Scripture and their consequent opposition to the universal allegorical method of interpretation. They rejected it as completely as, eleven centuries later, it was rejected by John Calvin. Theodore speaks sarcastically of those who say that "Adam is not Adam, nor paradise paradise, nor a serpent a serpent," and who call their folly "spiritual interpretation." What language could he have found strong enough for his purpose had he foreseen that this "spiritual interpretation" would be almost exclusively cultivated for more than a thousand years!

Theodore was also relatively free from bondage to the traditional doctrine of inspiration. He discussed the Old Testament canon, and came to the conclusion that Proverbs—the book which was an especial favorite with the theologians in their christological

discussions—was *not* divinely inspired. Still more significant is the fact that Theodore broke radically with the church tradition in the matter of Christian predictions in the Old Testament. He saw a messianic element in a very few psalms, but most of these which had long been referred to Christ he referred to contemporary rulers.

It would be wrong to suppose that this movement at Antioch was wholly scientific. It was only a beginning of better things—a partial break with tradition and a partial recognition of the demands of historical science. For neither Chrysostom nor Theodore was free from dogmatic presupposition, which yet is essential to a thoroughly historical exegesis. Probably this freedom could only have been secured gradually, after a prolonged cultivation of the historical principle. It was surely a simpler thing for a bishop to combat allegorical method than to refuse to be bound by the traditional theology in his reading of the Bible. We may suppose that this costly freedom would have been gained had there been a succession of men like Diodore and Theodore; but that was not to be. These great men passed, and their work which was so full of promise was without wide or permanent influence. In the history of the early church this is the most pathetic fact.

PAUL'S ESCHATOLOGY. II

PROFESSOR IRVING F. WOOD, PH.D.
Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

3. CHRIST'S COMING

For Paul, as for all Christians of his age, the messianic coming was a belief necessary to the Christian system. Then only would Jesus enter upon his office of Messiah. It is worthy of note that the New Testament uses the term "advent"—*parousia*—not "second advent." The messianic manifestation was yet to come. As in the case of the course of history, Paul's picture of the advent in his early writings was taken from the apocalyptic writings: "The Lord himself shall descend with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God" (I Thess. 4:16). The figures go back to the Old Testament pictures of the "glory of Jehovah," who "maketh the clouds his chariot" (Ps. 104:3) and whose voice is the thunders. The messianic kingdom figured by a "son of man" comes "on the clouds of heaven" in Dan. 7:13, while the sound of the trumpet accompanies the coming of the Messiah in both Christian (Matt. 24:31) and Jewish tradition (II Esdr. 6:23). The same pictorial ideas are in Paul's mind in I Cor. 15:52, when he thinks of the resurrection as accompanied by a trumpet call to rouse the dead.

How much stress are we to suppose Paul put on such pictorial details? This is a modern question which we have no reason to suppose Paul ever raised. The real value of the promise lay in the triumph and reign of Christ, but this idea must ever form itself in pictures—the very words used above, "triumph" and "reign," are pictorial. To attempt to draw a line between concept and picture is a modern refinement of thought. Evidently Paul thought of the messianic advent in terms of picture.

The coming of the Messiah must be before the kingdom, for he is to slay the lawless one by the breath of his mouth (II Thess. 2:8) and to put down powers and forces and all enemies (I Cor.

15:24, 25), and his followers shall reign with him (I Cor. 6:2, 3). In Paul's mind, the reward of the believer rested upon the reality of this messianic advent and reign; but whether it was to be on earth, as in Enoch, chaps. 1–36, or in a "new heaven and a new earth," as in Enoch, chaps. 37–70, and Revelation, he nowhere suggests. True, the living and the dead meet the Lord in the air (I Thess. 4:17), and he conquers powers and principalities, which Ephesians seems to think of as belonging to the region of the air (2:2), that region where Gnosticism placed the lower and more evil superhuman forces. Paul expresses himself too vaguely, however, to afford much ground for solid conclusions on this subject. He has spiritualized the conception, but not localized the place, of the Messiah's reign. One may suppose that he has followed the more general Jewish thought of a reign of the Messiah upon earth, but its quality, not its locality, is his main thought.

4. THE RESURRECTION

If the messianic reign was necessary to early Christianity, the resurrection of believers was not less so. Paul stated words of truth for his own time when he said that if the dead rise not, Christians are of all men most miserable. The problem of the Thessalonian Christians was quite to the point. Granted a Messiah in the future, what would it avail to any person who died before his advent? Men now often profess to be glad enough to work for future generations, even if they are in no proper sense to share the results. That is not the way Paul, or any early Christian, looked at life. Evidently it is not the way that Pharisaic theology, which had developed the idea of the resurrection, looked at life. Reward was a personal thing, else it was no reward at all.

Of this subject again we have two treatments, the earlier of which is more pictorial than the later. The Thessalonian Christians had raised a question of fact, not a speculation of objections. They seem, so imperfect was their Christian knowledge, to have gathered from Paul that no Christian would die before the coming of the messianic kingdom. When some of these members died, the natural question was, "What then was the value of their faith

for them?" Paul answers with the common Pharisaic doctrine of resurrection, put in common apocalyptic figures. He adopts that variety of Jewish thought which places the resurrection at the beginning of the messianic reign, at the very first appearance of the glory of Christ, so that the dead "meet the Lord in the air," and miss no item of the reward which comes to the followers of Jesus. For this faith, which is in accord with some of the apocalyptic pictures, Paul claims "a word of the Lord." No saying of Jesus in the form now embodied in the gospels will satisfy this condition. Matt. 24:30, 31 comes nearest to it, but has nothing about the resurrection of the dead. One must either think of some unknown saying of Jesus, or of something which had come to Paul in those experiences he regarded as revelations from Christ (Gal. 1:12; II Cor. 12:4).

The Thessalonians were only concerned with the fact of the resurrection. They demanded no explanation of the belief, nor any proof of it. As the second letter shows, they accepted it only too readily and uncritically. Some years later Paul again had occasion to touch upon the subject, in I Cor., chap. 15. Here explanation was demanded. Objections to the doctrine itself had been raised, based upon the absurdity of the resurrection of the body. How could the body be raised? the speculative Corinthians argued. It was laid in the grave and dissipated by corruption. What body was left for resurrection? Raising from the dead could not be literal. It must be figurative. Did not the figure fit into Paul's own preaching? He was always talking of a new life. The real resurrection is the new life, into which all Christians have entered. The resurrection is past. It is real, but spiritual; not connected with a raised body, which is an absurd idea, but with a renewed spirit. Thus the Corinthians had, to their own mind, rationalized the resurrection and made it a reasonable belief. Paul's answer consists of two parts: a statement and an explanation. The statement is that the future resurrection of the Christian is a fact, based upon Christ's resurrection. The explanation is that their objection to the resurrection of the fleshly body does not hold, because the fleshly body will not be raised. At this point Paul departs from the common Jewish view of the resur-

rection. That view presented a fleshly, bodily life, the counterpart of the present life. Its best biblical statement is in the question the Sadducees asked Christ about the woman who had been the wife of seven husbands: Whose wife shall she be in the resurrection? The Pharisees could not answer it because they, like the Corinthians, conceived of the resurrection as a life under earthly conditions. Jesus in his answer struck the note which a Pharisaic work reproduced before the end of the century, that in the resurrection men are "like unto the angels" (see Apoc. of Baruch, chap. 51). Whether Paul knew of this answer of Jesus spiritualizing the idea of the resurrection life is an insoluble problem. It is more probable that he came to his opinion by three means: first, the constant objections to a bodily resurrection which he must have met in the centers of Greek culture. The compactness of expression and felicity of illustration in I Cor., chap. 15, are marks of style indicating a subject to which much previous attention has been given. They show that Paul had often argued this matter before. It could hardly have been difficult for a keen Greek to drive a Jew from the defenses of a literal bodily resurrection. Second, Paul's distinction between flesh and spirit must have lent aid to the process. The flesh is not identical with sin, but the flesh and sin are closely connected in Paul's thought. In vs. 50 he lays it down as an axiom, needing no argument or defense, that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." Third, his experience on the road to Damascus gave him a direct knowledge of the spiritual body of Christ, the model upon which the spiritual bodies of Christians are fashioned. This vision may well have been the starting-point of Paul's frequent expressions of exaltation applied to the resurrection body—"glory," "power," "heavenly," "spiritual body." The student of Paul must never forget the tremendous influence wielded in his life by his conviction that he had seen with his own eyes the glorified Christ, not in vision, but in reality.

Paul presents no theory of the nature of the resurrection body. The concept lies in his mind in terms of function, not of substance. It is such a body as is fitted for a spiritual life. That means, it is

heavenly, as the present body is earthly; and he gives no further definition of "the manner of body" with which the dead are raised. In rabbinical thought the hope of a perfect body in the resurrection is expressed; but the halt and the blind and those with other infirmities will be raised as they were on earth for purposes of identification, then immediately changed (Bereshith Rabba, 95). The same treatise also (28) attempts to meet the problem of the destruction of the present body, and presents the theory that the resurrection body is built up from a certain indestructible fragment of the backbone. Paul avoids the need of such explanations by assuming a body itself glorified and spiritualized at the resurrection. This body has no connection with the fleshly body. The same life is embodied here in a sensuous (natural) body, there in a spiritual body. The figure of the seed sown does not point to the body laid in the grave as the seed from which the resurrection body is formed. The present life, not the body laid in the grave, is the seed. The resurrection body is the fruit. The life takes to itself various forms, but the form is not the life. The corruption and weakness of the sensuous body (vss. 42–44) describes life in this world, from which a new spiritual body will arise. It does not describe the dead and decaying fleshly body. The resurrection life comes from life, not from death. The relation of the resurrection body is with the spirit, not with the sensuous body.

To this idea that the spiritual life, not the body, is the seed from which the resurrection body comes, II Cor. 5:1–5 conforms. A body is the robe of the spirit. The Christian wishes not to be disrobed but to be robed in a spiritual garb. This spiritual robe is not made from the earthly robe, but is the direct gift of God. That which is mortal is not transformed into the immortal, but is displaced by it, "swallowed up of life." The spiritual body is like that of Christ. It is his spirit in the believer which makes the life that is enabled to pass unfettered through the bonds of death. It is Christ's life within that makes the Christian's life possible. But Christ's life embodied itself after death. Paul had seen that embodiment. He had experience, then, of the fact of the resurrection and of the glorious nature of the resurrection

body. Christ was the first fruits. The others were like, but later (I Cor. 15:20).

What of non-Christian men? Paul has no place for them in the resurrection. Since the resurrection is caused by the spirit of Christ which the believer shares, there can in the nature of the case be no resurrection for them. They possess no divine life to carry them safely through the portals of death. He never discusses their fate. He promises "eternal life" to the obedient, and "wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish" to the evil (Rom. 2:6–10), but does not say that they will be raised from the dead to receive punishment. Dan. 12:2 states plainly a belief in a resurrection to punishment. The fact that Paul does not, and that his scheme of thought has no logical place for any such idea, amounts, at the least, to very strong presumptive evidence that he held to no resurrection life for the non-Christian. The resurrection is limited to the Christians.

One sees immediately that Paul's idea of the resurrection is in no sense a theory of immortality. The soul is not naturally immortal. Eternal life is the gift of God. Socrates in the *Phaedo* arguing for the deathlessness of the soul and Paul in Corinthians arguing for the resurrection are in separate and mutually exclusive spheres of thought. Paul's resurrection would have been meaningless superstition to Socrates, and Socrates' immortality would have been false philosophy to Paul. We are heirs to both ideas, but that is no reason why we should not see that each was irreconcilable with the other.

5. THE INTERMEDIATE STATE

What of the believer in the period between death and the resurrection? Paul, using the common phraseology of his day, often speaks of this time as a sleep. No dogmatic conclusion can be drawn from the use of this word. It was an early and natural euphemism for death, used, among many other nations, both by Hebrews ("to lie down," the meaning also of the Greek word Paul usually uses, Deut. 31:16, Job 7:21, I Kings 2:10, and often), and in Greek epitaphs and literature (*Iliad* 11. 241, Soph. *Electra* 509). In these uses there is no implication of a resurrection.

When the belief in the resurrection developed, the term was still used (Dan 12:2 and often in Jewish writings), but the use proves no special theory of the intermediate state. Two passages in Paul's letters seem to bear on this question: II Cor. 5:1–10; Phil. 1:21–23. There are three possibilities of interpretation: (1) The resurrection follows death immediately. In this case, Paul has changed his ideas. He no longer thinks of the resurrection as a spectacular event, as in the Thessalonian letters. He is no longer apocalyptic in his thought.[1] Such a radical change of thought should be assumed only as a last resort. (2) The intermediate state is not unconscious, but is a conscious life, in union with Christ, embodied in some form, though not in the resurrection body. It must be admitted that Hebrew thought occasionally exhibits certain kindred ideas. But this view makes the resurrection a useless event; belief in it a mere survival of past thought. Paul's religion seems to be built upon the resurrection too firmly to allow the introduction of so discordant an idea. (3) Paul overlooks entirely the time of the intermediate state. That is not the subject he is discussing in either of the passages. In II Cor. he is contrasting the things temporal with things eternal (4:18). This earthly abiding-place and all which belongs to it lies in the temporal. The life with Christ lies in the eternal. Union with Christ is never broken. That belongs to the eternal; and after the temporal is gone, God will still prepare a way for its embodiment. In Phil. 1:21 he is concerned with the same abiding element of the Christian life. Death makes no break in the union with Christ. Paul is Christ's no matter what may come. He is not here discussing the kind of life after death, but expressing his positive confidence that neither life nor death can separate him from Christ. It is not fitting to set this exuberant expression of Christian faith at the ungracious task of undermining the doctrine of resurrection which elsewhere enters so logically and fundamentally into the

[1] Holtzmann, *N.T. Theol.;* Schmiedel on I Cor. (*Hand-Kom.*); Charles, *Eschatology* (pp. 395–401), where stress is laid on the present tense in 5:1; immediately after death we have a building from God. H. S. Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporaneous Jewish Thought*, 31 f., suggests a dependence upon the Wisdom of Solomon, and an incomplete approach to its doctrine of the immortality of the soul, though not, as in that Alexandrian book, to the exclusion of a bodily resurrection.

very structure of Paul's faith.[2] This seems to the writer the best interpretation of these passages. It leaves us, however, with no statement which gives us any inkling of Paul's view of the intermediate state. We can only say that the problem seems to have had no particular religious importance in his mind.

6. THE JUDGMENT

This interpretation will also help to make Paul's theory of the judgment self-consistent. In II Cor. 5:10 the judgment stands in the same connection with death as does the "clothing with the heavenly habitation." Elsewhere, the judgment is placed at the beginning of the messianic reign. Christ will judge the world (Rom. 14:10, 12), sitting on "the judgment seat of God." This judgment tests men's works (II Cor. 5:10), but is to be given not only in accord with what men have done, but in the light of their opportunities (Rom., chap. 2). Nay, men may even present for judgment deeds which are only worthy of condemnation, yet themselves be saved (I Cor. 3:12–15). It is evident that the old Jewish conception of "a day of Jehovah" has received by Paul an ethical interpretation which makes it a day of purification as well as a day of punishment. He has, however, given no complete discussion of his theory of it. Nor has he attempted to expound any theory of the position of the unbeliever in the judgment. He seems to assume in the passages referred to above that all men will appear at the judgment, yet, as we have seen, neither his words nor the logic of his thought provide any place for the resurrection of the unbeliever. Yet the sphere of the judgment is in the world of the resurrection. Here seems to be an unsolved antinomy. Paul, however, leaves it no more confused than do certain Jewish apocalyptic writers. The figures of condemnation, death, destruction, used of the enemies of Israel, are often not carried out to any logical conclusions. The Christian church has sometimes tried to make complete doctrines where both Paul and his Jewish contemporaries offered only suggestive expressions.

[2] See Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things*, 262–74.

7. THE FINAL ISSUE

The final issue of the course of history is also based on Jewish conceptions. In Judaism the emphasis was, after all, not upon the Messiah, but upon God. The Messiah is a means for accomplishing the will of God. To God must be the glory. Important as the Messiah was in Paul's thought, still God was supreme, and Christ existed not for his own sake, but to bring men to God. It is fitting, then, that at the last, after the work of the Messiah is completed, he should give up the kingdom to God, so that God should be "all in all" (I Cor. 15:25–28). The process of bringing the world into subjection to God is stated in apocalyptic terms. Enemies are to be put down. The last enemy to be overcome is death. Sin and the supernatural powers of evil now dominant in the world, under whose oppression the world now groans (Rom. 8:22), will be overthrown. The saints, through this union with Christ, will rule with him and judge even supernatural beings (I Cor. 6:3). At last all the world will be brought into submisssion to Christ, as God's representative and vicegerent. Then Christ will give up the kingdom to the Father, that God may be all in all. And then?—Paul does not go farther.

If all the world is subdued to God, does this imply that evil and rebellion to God no longer exist in the world? Paul believes in the present existence, not only of evil men, but of evil powers above men. What is to become of them? Shall we read literally Paul's single use of "eternal destruction" (II Thess. 1:9), and his occasional use of "perishing" (II Thess. 2:10), and conceive him as thinking of evil men and angels as dead, blotted out, wiped off the face of existence, as an incorrect sum is wiped off the slate? That would seem to be a logical conclusion from his thought of the resurrection as caused by the spirit of Christ, by which we possess a life able to pass through the gates of death. Or shall we lay stress on passages like I Cor. 15:22–28; Rom. 11:32, and conclude that Paul's idea of the supremacy of God provided a place for the restoration of all souls, human and superhuman, to harmony with him? The marshaling of the entire body of texts which could bear in any way on the subject would leave us with the same antinomy as the more evident passages mentioned above. The

whole subject of God's final dealing with evil men lay out of the center of Paul's religious attention. He seems never to have formulated the subject in a final and self-consistent theory. When he thinks of God as supreme, he pictures all the realm of existence as bowing before his feet. When he thinks of the deserved punishment of evil, he uses terms which imply ultimate and irremediable ruin of soul. Circumstances never forced him to form a final judgment. It is well for us not to attempt to form one for him, or to try to show what he would have concluded had he been obliged to conclude something.

This position of incomplete theory is not strange. We have seen that the subject was not in the center of Paul's religious thought. It is a general experience that opinions regarding matters on the periphery of attention are borrowed, not original. A great thinker may be original in the one subject to which he has given his life, but in all others he usually reflects more or less perfectly his mental environment. Paul's environment of Hebrew thought gave him no settled and consistent theory of the final fate of evil men. Like Paul himself, it was more interested in the destiny of good men. There was a confident belief that God would triumph, and what would become of the defeated enemy, nobody really cared. Evil was to be defeated; that was enough.

8. THE INFLUENCE OF PAUL'S ESCHATOLOGY

Paul's eschatology seems to have had little influence in the early centuries of the church. His theory of the resurrection was flatly contradicted by the Old Roman Symbol from which came the Apostles' Creed. He held that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," but this symbol affirms belief "in the resurrection of the flesh." The literal fleshly resurrection is maintained, in opposition to Gnosticism, by Ignatius, Tertullian, and other church writers, who sometimes try to reconcile the Pauline writings and sometimes not.[3]

Pauline eschatology had no very great influence in molding

[3] For a statement of the reasons for this anti-Pauline position see in *Biblical World* for December, 1910, the paper on "The Religious Value of the Resurrection of Jesus in the Early Church," by the present writer.

Christian thought on the subject at any time previous to the Reformation. The flight of years soon disposed of Paul's expectation of the speedy second coming of the Messiah. The Greek idea of immortality took the place of his theory of resurrection. The apocalyptic figures which entered popular thought came rather from Daniel and Revelation than from Paul's less spectacular apocalyptic passages. The popular delight in pictures of the sufferings of the lost found little support in Paul's almost total omission of any mention of the fate of the wicked. The conceptions of heaven were usually far from Paul's mystic union with Christ, and so with God. Paul was both too spiritual and too colorless for an eschatology so vivid in imagination and so materialistic in conception as that of the pre-Reformation church.

The Reformation was a Pauline renaissance; but of all departments of theology, eschatology was perhaps least affected by Pauline conceptions. It had become too fixed; fertile imaginations had played too long about a picturesque eschatology to allow much change, unless the subject came into the center of thought; and eschatology was not in the center of Reformation thought. So it happens that an eschatology largely non-Pauline came to be part of the professedly Pauline Protestant theology. It was non-Pauline in its assumption of the natural immortality of the soul; its theory of judgment immediately following death; its positive assertions about the fate of the wicked. Yet the study of Paul influenced Protestant conceptions. One of the most striking influences was in the change in the clause regarding the resurrection in the Apostles' Creed from the "flesh" of both the Latin and the Greek forms to the more Pauline "body," as it stands in the English Prayerbook today. Even this change is incomplete, for the form of the creed used in the English church (not in the American Episcopal prayerbooks) in the ceremony of baptism keeps to this day the earlier and more correct English translation "flesh." But in spite of such evidences of Pauline influence, there is no classical system of Protestant theology which conforms strictly to Pauline eschatology. On the contrary, nearly every system contains some elements which are extra-Pauline, and a few which are anti-Pauline.

The present value of Paul's eschatology does not depend upon the acceptance of its theories. The church never has and never can accept his theories in all respects. This is equally true of his theories of the resurrection and of the second coming. His speculations as to the events of the resurrection and as to the nature of the spiritual body are interesting speculations, but the Christian will remember that they are Paul's personal opinions, on the basis of inherited religious beliefs. They are suggestive, but not authoritative. Their real value is on their religious side, rather than their theological side. They are revelations of Paul as a religious man, and such revelations are always inspiring to others. What the world needs is to grasp the principles which guided the lives and thought of its religious leaders. The content of thought will change as the generations move; the attitude of man to God expressed in religious principles remains the same.

That man is directly responsible to God; that divine justice will be done somewhere in the universe; that Christ gives a sense of spiritual life found nowhere else; that God will finally triumph over evil; that the meaning of life, whether present or future, is spiritual and not material; these are some of the abiding religious convictions which stand behind the Pauline eschatology. The words of Professor Bruce on the last page of *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, in speaking of I Cor., chap. 15, the great chapter on the resurrection, will apply to all Paul's eschatology: "Beyond one or two leading statements, such as that affirming the certainty of the future life, I should be slow to summarize its contents in definite theological formulae. I had rather read this chapter as a Christian man seeking religious edification and moral inspiration, than as a theologian in quest of positive dogmatic teaching."[4]

[4] See also the excellent concluding paragraph of "A Study of a Pauline Apocalypse," by Professor D. A. Hayes, *Biblical World*, March, 1911.

THE INFLUENCE OF ALEXANDER'S CONQUEST UPON JEWISH LIFE

A. H. GODBEY, PH.D.
Baden, Missouri

Did Alexander really dream that the Jewish high priest would be his guide in the conquest of the East, and did he give the Jews special privileges in consequence, as Josephus narrates? It is as credible as the story of Cadmus (*Qedem*, "the east") introducing letters into Greece. In each case a general fact is stated as the deed of an individual. The mild Persian régime, interfering little with autonomy in purely local matters, and with no strenuous religious propagandism, was peculiarly favorable to a wider dispersion of the Jews and Aramaeans. As merchants and minor officials they could be found from the Caspian to Carthage—perhaps even to the Indies, as well as to Nubia and Hadramaut. No other people are likely to have had so full a knowledge of roads, towns, population, resources, and census-lists. But we have not the archives of Alexander's intelligence department. Certainly the story that Ptolemy Philadelphus half a century later purchased at a high price the liberty of all enslaved Jews in his domain must point to his having found them very valuable to him. But there is no hint of a revival of the Hebrew national spirit, nor any effort to make Jerusalem a political power. "From the River to the ends of the land" was probably the largest empire dream of the olden Hebrew: but it has ever been his destiny to sit in the shadow of another's political vine and fig tree and faithfully aid in its cultivation: never colonizing or carving out a pilgrim state. His kingdom is not of this world.

One of the most striking features of Alexander's activity was calculated to be peculiarly favorable to this chastened dream of the Jew: his founding of cities. More than sixty were founded by him; and his successors showed a like passion, probably as the result of contact with oriental ideals. King after king of the

eastern divisions of the empire must build his own capital and his own palace, just as the ancient kings of Egypt and Assyria had done. A Westminster Abbey or Windsor Castle or Buckingham Palace was never the oriental ideal: and a tendency to hopeless unprogressiveness is checked by a passion for building that allows some play for individuality. This was in part a result of the petty wars of olden city states: they tore each other down so frequently that there was always much rebuilding to do. Nothing like the stability and peacefulness of a modern occidental capital was known to the ancient East. But under Alexander and his successors city life became far safer than ever before, and the transition for the Jew is complete. The Old Testament has ceaseless complaint of the wealth, oppression, and injustice of city dwellers: little appreciation of their culture. But the son of Sirach belongs to another age and inquires: "How can he have wisdom whose talk is of bullocks?" And to this age we owe the Chronicler's effort to paint the Hebrew past as one of a mighty capital and surpassingly glorious court and temple; though the Chronicler does not attribute to Solomon the excellent police, lighting, water, and sanitary systems of the best Greek towns of his day.

But this steady multiplication of Greek towns and colonies did not imply the occupation and assimilation of the adjacent country. So the region beyond Jordan—Decapolis—contained ten elegant Greek towns for a long period; and yet these have left no appreciable influence upon the rural population in either social or religious institutions. This border land remains little more than Beduin. But this indisposition of the Greek to play the country gentleman is primarily responsible for the fact that we hear of no land question as we do so continually in the Hebrew prophets. The Jew himself has no inclination in that direction. We hear later in Josephus of some Jews in Babylonia with pastoral interests; but broadly speaking, the wealthy country gentlemen whom Deuteronomy urges to aid the poor by leaving much in field and vineyard, are of the past. In Greece we hear of the land question, as we do at Rome, for some portions of Greece remain rural in character to the last; and the enormous increase in wealth

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS: ALEXANDER ATTACKING DARIUS
A mosaic from Pompeii

and advance in standards of living with the great fall in the purchasing power of money meant a great increase of relative poverty. But the oriental peasant seems to have gained a better market and better protection by the advent of the Greek, being otherwise little affected.

All this suited the Jew, who, like other Semites of the time, was politically pliant, ready to serve faithfully any ruler who guaranteed him safety of all material interests. Alexandria, the only city founded by Alexander that achieved permanence and power, was chiefly Jewish in its population, and its trade, reaching down the Red Sea to India, was mainly in the hands of Jewish merchants. In the organization of Greek cities everywhere the Jews found themselves sometimes accorded recognition in the municipal council. We have definite information that Antiochus the Great founded many cities in Asia Minor and accorded the Jews full civic rights: a policy sure to make useful to him a people not troubled with visions of empire, though keenly interested in all sociological questions—a field in which the Jew still leads. Perhaps this participation in municipal affairs under Greek influence aided in shaping the Sanhedrin. The Greek word *συνέδριον* is used by the Septuagint in Proverbs, and its use as a name for the assembly of Jewish elders of a community seems to date from early in the Greek period.

We have seen that the Jew of this epoch did not have the dream of empire. But neither did the Greek have it. Greek notions of freedom to be maintained kept them from seeing the opportunity to be world-rulers. It was as an individual warrior, not as an empire builder, that Alexander seized and held the imagination of the world then and ever since: as an incomparable knight—not as a constructive genius. So the Dark Ages of Europe portrayed him as a daring paladin, slaying his thousands, seeking marvelous adventures amid fabulous monsters; but for empire and statesmanship, Caesar was the one name. There was nothing in all the Greek Orient to suggest the magic of one word—Rome—to the period under consideration, or to later times. Athens might have seized the opportunity—it was hers—if she had been able to appreciate Alexander and his dream. But she remained in the rear,

whining about a dead past, chafing about her "liberties," contemptuous toward all "strangers," just as did certain old Jewish conservatives on religious grounds in Palestine, or Egyptians at their ancient seats. We may compare the attitude of "Little Englanders" toward men like Cecil Rhodes, or that of anti-imperialists or anti-expansionists in America.

In fact, Alexander "discovered" the East, much as Columbus discovered the New World, so far as the effect upon men's imaginations was concerned. Everything suddenly took on colossal proportions. There was a very atmosphere of largeness. Fabulous wealth, limitless opportunities, opened to the adventurous spirits of the age. The tradesman and buccaneer are coming home daily with tales of El Dorado, Golconda, and the Fountain of Youth. But the political result of the whole movement is a collection of first- and second-rate powers, each one of which knows its limitations; and the great struggle is as in modern Europe—to preserve the balance of power. There is a like culture, etiquette, elegance, splendor, at all the great capitals of the Hellenic world, and a common literary and official dialect. That is the character of the Hellenic empire. It may be compared politically to Spanish America today.

But to appreciate fully the effect of this contact upon the Jew, we have to glance back of Alexander's day. Remembering that Chronicles, including Ezra and Nehemiah, Zech., chaps. 9–14, Ecclesiasticus, Proverbs, some Psalms, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and the Wisdom of Solomon come from this period (with possibly Esther, Ruth, and Jonah according to some scholars), we need to observe some of the leading features of Greek inner life and thought to deal intelligently with the questions the books suggest.

Greece herself has been going through a great religious and intellectual readjustment since the days of Aeschylus. Macedon had the power of conquest only because she represented an older, more unquestioning faith. It takes conviction to achieve conquest: it is never accomplished by doubt. But the cultured Greek that Macedonia introduces into the East is himself in a stage of transition: and the hegemony of the rough Macedonian whom he regards much as the Southron of America did the carpetbagger

but hastens the process. More and more "the real Greek," as he imagines himself to be, will turn from statecraft to philosophy, art, and literature. Euripides had thrown upon the stage—the Greek pulpit—nearly all those great questions which thinking men will ask and none ever fully answer: and ever since there was a tendency in the Greek temper to be speculative rather than dogmatic—except in the one question of Greek superiority to the Barbarian. Greek temples could be built in every oriental city, and every public building inscribed to some divinity, but this implied no determined propagandism. In cultus-forms and organization the Orient kept on its way—often with a Greek name superimposed. Ephesus still worshiped the ancient many-breasted mother goddess—now a Greek Artemis. East of the Jordan the Semitic Fortune, Gad, became a Greek Tyche; Baalbek could worship more gloriously in the temple of Zeus; Alexander found it prudent to be the offspring of Ammon rather than of some ancient Greek divinity. He may have had some centralizing cultus in mind when he secured divine honors for himself; but his early death prevented organic form.

The old cults and legends of Greece have been allegorized to enable religion to hold its place. Greek philosophers have done this since the overthrow of older poetical types of belief by the tragedians and sophists and Platonists. But Philosophy itself is unorganized when the Greek comes into Asia, and only with the aid of the Orient will Zeno and Epicurus organize their systems, using Herakleitos and other teachers of Asia Minor, 600–400 B.C., instead of Plato, as a foundation, since Plato had really built no system. Thus Greece comes not like Saracen or Assyrian, but as a tremendous interrogating power, thrusting fundamental theological and philosophical questions among the adherents of all cults, leaving a doubt with each. This is half unconscious—a result of method rather than of purpose. The Greek seeks God subjectively, the Hebrew, objectively, and finds in his own hopes, aspirations, consciousness of innocence, proof of divine presence and approval when the world is objectively confusing. Thus the author of Ecclesiastes "returns and communes with his own heart" when perplexed by the world-order. Kingsley's Aben-Ezra says to

Miriam: "Men have lied to you about Him, mother, but has He ever lied to you about Himself?" Job holds fast to his integrity, but does not find in this consciousness of innocence the proof of divine presence and approval and comfort. But this is just what the dying Hippolytus of Euripides does, preparing us for the dying testimony of the first martyr, the Greek Stephen. Add that the cosmos conception of Herakleitos was that all things are in a state of flux—nothing persists—yet nothing is new, and the thoroughly Greek character of Ecclesiastes is apparent.

So far had the philosopher pushed his work that he was now consulted in matters of statecraft, as well as in private affairs, where the Greek would once have offered sacrifice and inspected the entrails or observed omens. No Roman augur or Semitic astrologer would have found it part of his function to give spiritual consolation to those in distress. But when Alexander is in a frenzy of remorse at his murder of Clitus, two philosophers are sent for to comfort him. The modern pastor has the Greek philosopher quite as much as the Semitic seer as an antecedent. The philosopher is, in short, making religious conceptions more rational, and more applicable to the needs of daily life than ancient ritual had ever done. Much of his wisdom was expressed in apothegms and mottoes—a practice which was doubtless a stimulating force to the Jew, who must show that equal wisdom existed earlier among his own people; and so he makes collections or re-edits already existing anthologies of his own people's worldly wisdom. Solomon is given the credit for ancient and pre-eminent wisdom by proverbist and chronicler, just as David is accorded half a dozen such armies as Alexander's. But in this collecting of Proverbs and writing introductory personifications of Wisdom, the compiler takes occasion to express his dislike of the "woman of the stranger." Tales are told of Alexander's adventures among the Amazons, but the Greek writers need not have looked beyond Macedonia and Illyria for their models, the early Macedonian period showing us several brave, adventurous queens and princesses ready to battle for their own rights, and lead their troops in person. The army of adventurers over-running the East certainly carried the adventuress as well, as in our own Wild-West days; not always necessarily

immoral, though the courtesan is a stock figure of the plays of Menander. But women frequented the streets of Alexandria, chatting freely with the men as they never did in old Greece or in ancient Israel; and in Alexandrian poetry we are shown a young woman living with her maid only, in her own house, visiting the market place freely. All this conduct on the part of "the woman of the stranger" is distasteful to the editor of the Proverbs, who styles them foolish, noisy, ignorant of conventions, their feet abiding not in the house. But the like descriptions are given today by Chinese of the manners and morals of American women; which should make us cautious in taking too literally all the Proverbist says of "the woman of the stranger." Paul, too, evidently disliked the freedom of speech he found among them.

The stability of society in this period depended largely upon the philosopher. The masses of the East were not ready for self-government, of the Greek type, and the philosophers of all schools knew it, though they were prone to put the fact superciliously in terms of Greek superiority to the barbarian. But they knew also that the Greek theory of liberty was not capable of imperialism. Leagues could live in Greece, made of small adjacent commonwealths, in easy communication with each other, but such self-governing leagues could not survive in the immense distances and diverse interests of Asia. And the past of Grecian cities had not proven ochlocracy superior to the rule of tyrants, or "bosses," as we call them in American towns. Mobs shed more blood, did more banishing and confiscating, than the "bosses." So each philosophic school gave historic reasons for concluding that monarchy was the best type of government, and the versatile scholar the ideal king. Philosophers were attached to every court, and sent upon important missions, regardless of their local citizenship.

Now this attitude of the philosopher was certain to put the Jew in strong practical sympathy with him. As stated already, the latter's interest lay in the stability of society, in commercial conservatism. So, finding the philosopher exercising an influence like that of wealthy Jews, by different methods, he was ready to bear testimony in favor of philosophy or wisdom, and make the latter say, "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice: by me

princes rule, and nobles, and all the judges of the earth. Riches and honour are with me; durable riches and righteousness." But the adventurous buccaneers of the age meet unqualified condemnation (Prov. 1:10–19). With no land or corvée question to oppress and disturb, with Jew and philosopher as conservative social bulwarks, with no problem of uniform cultus, no prophet or mahdi can arise,[1] no literature of national agony be produced. The same culture being everywhere, exile was impossible, said the philosophers. Patriotism, in the narrower sense, could not exist; both Jew and philosopher were men without a country.

But though the philosopher is the chief agent in a sort of state educational policy, his views and his situation make education essentially aristocratic in practice: all kinds and conditions of men enter the philosophic schools, yet learning is not really democratized. Just here the Jew's defensive school comes into view. The synagogue is developed and teaches practical ethics: and, content with a smaller field of learning, supported by the Jewish community instead of imperial endowment, it is related to the philosophic school much as our common school and lyceum are to the college. Only the Jew produced something like a vernacular literature for the masses of his people: Greek literature was for the cultured few.

Both Jew and Greek agreed in trying to correlate their new learning with the past. Humanity can hardly avoid this. So the philosopher allegorized the old poetic myths of the gods to demonstrate to the masses the authenticity of his gospel of philosophy. The Jew did a like thing. He found fanciful constructions for dead or decadent ritual; he allegorized his ancient writings, till we see in the Targums that any passage could be made to mean anything. Symbols and mysteries and prophetic enigmas abound. Neither scribe nor philosopher had any accurate conception of the historic development of their creeds. That the method has continued and hampered Christian exegesis is familiar. In like manner Turkish judges today manage to deduce the Code Napoleon from the Koran; and after the Sepoy rebellion pious Brahmins undertook

[1] Zech. 9:1–14 dreams of an overthrow of Egypt and Syria, and the establishment of holy gatherings at Jerusalem. But the prophet is viewed with contempt and as ashamed of his calling (13:1–7).

to rewrite Manu to admit British jurisprudence. But the method, being essentially vicious, ends in intellectual dishonesty and moral decadence. Eternal principles of right are in time explained away by the same process that had once vindicated them. Either discard the primitive inadequate premises, or end intellectual and spiritual progress. He who would teach with authority must not teach as the scribes. But the chronicler glorifies the scribe in the person of Ezra. Only David and Solomon outshine him.

In another respect the philosopher in some measure agreed with the Jew. Plato's educational views and academic foundation demanded thorough training in "music," a term then meaning all the culture under the patronage of the Muses, or what we mean by "the liberal arts" in our college curricula today. But while painting and sculpture were marvelously developed, especially at Sicyon, and later at Rhodes (witness the "Laocoön," "Farnese Bull," "Venus of Milos," "Dying Gaul," "Apollo Belvedere"), such culture in the nature of the case could not be universally accessible. Many fine statues adorned public gardens; painting became a decorative feature of the houses of the wealthy. What we now call "music" was the only art that spoke all languages, appealed to all hearts, and perpetuated no fantastic, immoral, or unintelligible myths and legends of the past. It is democratic and accessible in a sense that painting and sculpture never can be. Hence Plato's term "music" becomes restricted in time to its present use; and some at least of the philosophers eventually assert that this art is the only one that does not degrade and debase the people. Polybius finds oratory is demagoguery; the stage, painting, and sculpture are salacious and corrupt; only music is pure. This is just the view of the Deuteronomic reformers. And a prominent feature of the age is the development of splendid musical services at the temples. Trained bodies of singers—"actor-levites," we might style them—went from place to place, filling engagements for "masses" on festal days at the great temples. Polybius asserts that the culture, moral superiority, and simplicity of the Arcadians of his time were due to their incessant musical training for the great temple choruses. Each youth looked forward to the time when he should sing a great part in the sacred festivals,

just as each person in the Passion Play at Oberammergau today has his part assigned months before. Greek worship long emphasized agencies characteristic of later Judaism in a lesser degree. The development of the synagogue and of hymn-singing by private gatherings (Matt. 26:30) and of temple music cannot exist independent of this cultural atmosphere. But one easily understands the chronicler's desire to demonstrate that the musical services of his temple owed nothing to this splendid cultural development, but were wholly the work of his own ancestry. So David and Solomon get the credit for choral organization and most psalms. At least the Jew absorbed and most directly transmitted some of this Greek musical culture, and remains today the world's best music-master.

One interesting literary development we must notice. The poetry of the age was highly artificial—given to complicated rhythms, pedantries, and occasional buffooneries. The best of it is of a type imitated in England from Milton to Pope. The comic stage is the yellow press or comic Sunday supplement of the time. It has no local color or political or national ideals: individual character is its theme. Its demagogic and futile satires upon society tend to produce such a moral atmosphere as pervaded England at the time of the Wesleyan revival. The plays of Menander handle no great questions of the day. We have the braggart buccaneer, the courtesan, the young scapegrace whose father is an easy-going libertine or a censorious old miser, an uncle who is one or the other of the same characters, a rascally slave, the seduction of a "lady friend" of some young man in the piece, the suspicious wife of the old man, and various tricks to secure the father's money or steal a mistress or outwit a suspicious wife. But in Alexandria a note of protest arises, in the very midst of a blasé age. A type of love story springs up whose theme is the constancy and purity of woman's love. Two young people are born for each other; though they have never seen each other they fall in love in a dream, and seek each other alway; though the maiden's guardians or parents are bent on marrying her to another, she is constant in her love; and the maiden preserves her maidenhood till wedded from her mother's home and with her consent.

Now this is just the theme of the Song of Songs. No one knows

just how or why this type arose at Alexandria. Xenophon and Chares cited such tales from Persian sources. The theme is familiar in Arabian tales. Did the Persians in Alexandria furnish the model for the Greeks? Or is this a Jewish protest against the vulgar comedy, maintaining that a "lily among thorns" may remain a lily nevertheless? The notion of predestination of the maiden points perhaps a little more to Semitic than Persian ideas. At all events, this central theme of love stories ever since is more likely to have been original with the Alexandrian Jew than to have been borrowed. The minute detail of the Shulamite's physical charms is unquestionably Semitic. Yet this feature reappears in the Alexandrian Greek stories. There is abundance of unnatural passion and criminal love in many Alexandrian tales; and in all probability it was the Jew who furnished the purer type.

The conservative Jew must also have established some reputation for business probity. The tone of Proverbs points to such result. And in the East today it is said that it takes three Jews to make one Greek, in shrewd trading: but it is also said, "Put a Jew behind you: but keep a Greek in front of you." Perhaps the Jew was prominent among the Rhodian bankers, always a main reliance of the Ptolemies. Something unique in the history of the ancient world occurred in 225 B.C. Rhodes was destroyed by an earthquake, and sent out ambassadors for help. Money poured in from all quarters, leaving the world's financial center stronger than ever. Ptolemy and Alexandria were especially liberal. Did this action come from a new sense of the solidarity of business interests throughout the world? Was it merely to enable Rhodian bankers to keep up cash payments and so avert a panic? Or is it the wealthy Jew bankers of Alexandria helping confrères at Rhodes? For Rhodes issued no state bonds.

In conclusion, some of the questions put forward by Greek philosophy should be noted. Chrysippus and other founders of philosophic schools are not original. They gather, systematize, and preach the ideas of their forerunners. Zeno, Plato, Epicurus are the leading lights of philosophic orthodoxy. The effort to make philosophy the law of life produced some practical speculations. Could a man be righteous in some points, yet fail in others?

Or must he be altogether good when he once found philosophic peace? (What is "Christian perfection"?) If one kept the whole philosophic law, yet offended in one point, was he guilty of all? Was conversion to philosophy a gradual thing—a process of education and habit, as Aristotle taught? Or was it sudden, coming in an instant, like a revelation? The latter was the popular view. Was apostasy from philosophy possible, when you once reached the truth? Chrysippus said yes; Cleanthes, no; the Stoic school was divided. Have we duties to lower animals? Have they claims to justice and mercy? Or are these qualities to be shown only to those of like nature with ourselves? Then what is our duty toward lower stages of humanity, like savages? Or have we any duty? Are we debtor to both Jew and Greek, barbarian and Scythian? So the Jewish Book of Jonah suggested.

It is clear then that the Jew was being powerfully influenced by the Greek. The necessity conservative Jews felt for showing that David and Solomon and Ezra surpassed the Greek in their respective fields is a confession of that influence. The value of wisdom, in the Greek sense, is acknowledged when the son of Sirach (24:1–6) makes his panegyric of Wisdom declare that she was commanded to take up her dwelling in Jacob. The town Jews were prone to take Greek names; Greek architecture was copied in Jewish buildings, in Palestine itself. It is probable that the most orthodox Jews were those on the outer borders of the Diaspora, remote from Greek centers of culture. Jewish students were flocking into Greek schools of philosophy and *gymnasia*. The privileges accorded the *ephebi*, as such students were called, were attractive. They had their uniform, their own special city assembly; they were accorded public honors and special positions in sacred processions; they had certain exemptions. Originally schools for military training, in time nearly all such drill was eliminated, and other studies substituted. Athletics became secondary; philosophers even wrote against them. Famous athletes, owing to a mistaken theory of training by cramming with meat, were proverbially stupid. The social and club life of these old-time college students attracted young Jews. References to more than sixty such colleges throughout the Orient have been

found. Tarsus had a famous one; Paul was proud of his city. Conservative as the Egyptian was, such schools existed in the Fayyum. In Jerusalem itself Greek ideals took root beside the temple. Jews put forth curious documents to show that their people were in high favor with authorities in various lands. Pergamenes forged genealogies to prove they and the Jews were of common ancestry. Despite factions and the conceit of each cultus, a marked fusion was in progress. It might have been completed but for the rashness and obstinacy of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Social life for the whole world, in short, is finding itself compelled to assume new forms. Ancient clan life is dead. The empire dream does not exist. Local patriotism finds itself a disruptive, anti-cultural force. There is no universal religion, but a gradually dawning apprehension of what is universal in religion. Barbarian and Greek are drawing together. Athens is leavening Syria; the Syrian Orontes is emptying into the Tiber. What social bond can be found? That of personal attraction, of individual friendships; clubs of congenial spirits. The philosophers are teaching that like tastes and pursuits are the real forces that determine association. Athens helped fix a type when she passed a law that no club or association should exist at Athens save under religious auspices and for religious purposes. Aimed primarily at political conspiracies, it compelled Plato's Academy and every other school of the type to be a religious institution and gave us our denominational college. These associations at Athens met monthly at a club supper, always under the patronage of a god. We find invitations later in Egypt to sup with the Lord Serapis, for instance. But all this is drawing out of the world bodies of men held together by common intellectual and religious ideals and interests. These Greek associations are a close parallel to the Jews' own position in the world—but more definite, in that the membership is voluntary instead of a matter of descent from Abraham. The body of a church is there, waiting for the King of the Jews to breathe into it the spirit of life.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

III. THE FUTURE LIFE IN THE TEACHING OF PAUL

PROFESSOR ERNEST F. SCOTT, D.D.
Queen's University, Kingston, Canada

In our Lord's own teaching there is little immediate reference to the life after death. The mind of Jesus was occupied with the hope of the approaching Kingdom; and in this comprehensive hope all his anticipations of the future were to some extent merged. For the beginnings of a specific doctrine of immortality we must turn to the writings of the apostle Paul. Even here, it is true, the doctrine is not presented clearly and systematically. We have to deal, rather, with a variety of suggestions, thrown out from time to time in the course of the apostle's teaching, and often not a little difficult to reconcile with one another. It was reserved for subsequent thinkers to gather up these fruitful suggestions and to develop them more fully. But in this doctrine, as in every other, the Pauline ideas were determinative for the later theology. The Christian conception of the future life was molded, in all its essential features, by the hand of Paul.

There were several reasons why the belief in immortality, which had hitherto been involved in the wider hope for the Kingdom, offered itself to Paul as a separate object of theological reflection. In the first place, the faith of the church was now directed not so much to the message of Jesus as to his person, and especially to the supreme facts of his death and resurrection. At the outset, the resurrection had been viewed, almost solely, as the divine attestation of Jesus' claim to messiahship; but it was felt increasingly that this did not exhaust its significance. In the light of their knowledge that the Lord had risen again the disciples were led to reflect more deeply on the mysteries of life and death. The conviction grew in their minds that the rising of Christ from the grave had a representative value. He had passed into that higher state of existence for which all God's people were destined, and had

overcome death on their behalf. Again, the enthusiastic hope which had inspired the church in its earliest days was gradually changing its character. The original disciples had looked for a kingdom which was to break in almost immediately, and into which they would enter without the necessity of death. In this religious attitude there was little place for anything like a reasoned faith in immortality. But years had now passed and the Lord's coming was delayed. Numbers of devout men who had confidently awaited it had already suffered the common lot of death. The mood of disappointment and perplexity into which the church had thus fallen is vividly reflected to us in Paul's First Epistle to the Thessalonians. It had become necessary to make it clear that the Christian hope was independent of the mere accident of physical survival until the Parousia. The dead would be raised again to meet the Lord, and those who were alive would have no advantage over those who slept. Once more, the mission to the gentiles had tended of itself to bring the idea of immortality into stronger relief. To the gentile public the traditions of Jewish apocalypse were for the most part foreign; and the missionaries were compelled to translate their message into terms that would be more generally intelligible. The conception of immortality had been familiar to the Greek mind from the time of Plato downward; and it had now become widely current through the influence of those new cults which had invaded Europe from the East. Insensibly the Christian hope detached itself from its original framework, and was presented to the gentile world as the hope of an immortal life. Apart, moreover, from these wider reasons, inherent in the conditions of the time, we must take into account the personal antecedents of Paul himself. It must always be remembered that he was trained in the Pharisaic school, with which the doctrine of the resurrection was peculiarly associated. As a Christian thinker he naturally turned with a special predilection to this particular belief, so closely identified from the first with his religious interests. He was not merely assuming a part, in order to separate his enemies, when he exclaimed before the council, "I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee; of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question" (Acts 23:6).

In the teaching of Paul, therefore, the idea of the future life obtains a new prominence, although it still stands in a subordinate relation to his theology as a whole. Paul is concerned primarily with the redemption achieved by Christ—a redemption of which the life hereafter is rather the necessary consequence than the direct purpose. His treatment of this doctrine is thus incidental in its character, and is governed throughout by his exposition of the main principles of the Christian message. In one great passage, indeed (I Cor., chap. 15), he appears to sum up into a single consecutive argument his teaching on the subject of immortality; but this passage, when we consider it more closely, is only a fragment. It deals not so much with the larger problem as with one definite question on which Paul and many of his converts were at issue: "How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?" (I Cor. 15:35.) To his conclusions as to the nature of the resurrection, so elaborately set forth by Paul, we shall turn our attention later. We have first to determine, with the help of such scattered indications as are offered to us in the epistles, how he conceived of the broad fact of the future life.

He takes his departure from those eschatological ideas which were part of the inheritance of the primitive church from Judaism. It was believed that the present age was shortly to give place to the new age of the Kingdom of God. This new age would be inaugurated by the glorious coming of the Messiah, who would form his people into a heavenly community. Those who were yet alive at his advent would undergo a mysterious change: those who had died would be restored to life when the Lord descended from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God (I Thess. 4:16). In the first instance, therefore, Paul simply accepts the belief in the future life as he had received it from the current tradition, and expresses it in terms of the traditional imagery. He sees in Jesus the Messiah whose work is "to deliver us from this present evil world" (Gal. 1:4). He thinks of eternal life as a special gift bestowed by God on those who have inherited his Kingdom (Rom. 6:23).

But these apocalyptic ideas which Paul took over from the primitive church are profoundly modified by certain new elements

which he combines with them. The redemption, as he conceives it, is something more than the right of participation in the future messianic age. It becomes to his mind a present deliverance from sin and the flesh and the law and all powers which have hitherto held men in bondage. There can be little doubt that we have here to allow for an influence on the apostle's thinking of ideas derived from Greek speculation and oriental mysticism. According to these ideas the material world was inherently evil, and the true goal of human aspiration was to escape from it into the eternal supersensuous world. In the theology of Paul we begin to encounter the characteristic words and turns of thought of this Graeco-oriental mysticism. Sin has its stronghold in the fleshly constitution of man's nature. Over against the seen and temporal things there stand the things which are unseen and eternal. What is corruptible and mortal must put on incorruption and immortality (*ἀφθαρσία*, *ἀθανασία*). The Apostle still adheres to the primitive Christian hope of an approaching kingdom, in which an eternal life will fall to the portion of the righteous. But this thought of the coming redemption is blended with that of an inward and present redemption. The Christian has been delivered even now from the powers of darkness and translated into the Kingdom of God's dear Son (Col. 1:13). He has been set free from the world of flesh and corruption and made to participate in the true life.

In this manner Paul breaks away from the native Jewish conception of a future life which will be only the restoration, under larger and happier conditions, of the life on earth. He feels that our natural being is leavened through and through with the element of mortality. It is fleshly, corruptible, part and parcel with "this body of death." The true deliverance must consist, not in a mere revival of the natural being, but in a complete release from that principle of death which resides in it. We must be raised out of the old life of corruption and enter upon a life which is different in kind and which belongs to the higher, imperishable world. It is not necessary that we should die before this change can be wrought in us. The redemption we seek is from the indwelling power of death; and while we yet continue in the flesh we can

undergo that redemption. In the future age our new state of being will be made fully manifest. "When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, we also shall appear with him in glory" (Col. 3:4). But the new life is inwardly present already in those who have been redeemed. "Ye are dead"—exempt even now from the bondage of this world—"and your life is hid with Christ in God."

The new life, as thus conceived, connects itself for Paul with the work achieved by Christ. He is the Redeemer, who has made possible for men their escape into a higher world out of their natural state of corruption and death. The redemptive work of Christ was accomplished on the cross, whereby he destroyed once for all the power of the sinful flesh and set men free from the law of ordinances that was against them. But the work of the cross was completed and set forth in its true meaning by the resurrection; and it is to the resurrection that Paul's doctrine of the future life is more immediately related. He dwells on this great fact of the Christian message, and seeks in several different directions to trace out its full significance.

1. In the resurrection of Christ he finds the palpable evidence that there is a life beyond the grave. The hope of immortality is no longer to be regarded as a matter of dream and speculation, for it has been guaranteed by an authentic fact. Before he proceeds to his theological argument in I Cor., chap. 15, Paul is careful to set on record the historical testimonies for the Lord's appearance after death. He bids his readers ground their faith in the simple fact, which in itself is all-sufficient. "Christ has risen from the dead, the first-fruits of them that slept." In the knowledge that he arose we have the promise and assurance of a life in store for his people.

2. But the resurrection is something more than the irresistible evidence of a future life. As the other side of the work achieved on the cross, it was itself the redeeming act whereby a new life was rendered possible. We have here to remember the peculiar categories, borrowed from the thought of his time, by means of which Paul sought to interpret the Christian message. He conceived of death as a single pervading principle which would suffer a universal collapse if it were stricken decisively at some one point. Christ

did battle with death as it manifested itself in his own person. The victory which was signalized by his resurrection meant nothing less than that the power of death was definitely broken. "Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him" (Rom. 6:9). And this victory of the redeemer availed for all men everywhere. "If one died for all, then are all dead" (II Cor. 5:14). As an outward and physical fact death continues to overshadow the world; but its real power has departed from it. It was dispossessed forever in the one great combat, and men are free to shake off its tyranny and to lay hold on life.

3. But Paul attributes a yet further meaning to the resurrection. Although it was a personal act, achieved once for all by Christ, the believer can so identify himself with it that it will be repeated in his own experience. A way is open whereby he may attain to that higher state of being into which Christ has passed. "He that raised up Jesus from the dead shall raise up us also by Jesus" (II Cor. 4:14). "If we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection" (Rom. 6:5). "That I may know him and the power of his resurrection, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I may attain to the resurrection of the dead" (Phil. 3:11). To the strain of thought which meets us in these and similar sayings we find striking analogies in the oriental religions. The mystic rites of Attis and Mithra and Osiris all had for their object a symbolical identification with the dying and rising god, whose victory over the evil powers was thus shared by his worshipers. It is more than probable that Paul was affected, consciously or not, by these modes of thinking which had became so widely diffused in his time. With the help of suggestions borrowed from the mysteries he sought to transform the resurrection from an outward historical fact into a living experience of Christian faith.

The resurrection is thus of primary importance for Paul's doctrine of the future life; but even while he emphasizes its significance he tries to get behind it. As he contemplates the one historical act it becomes for him the type of some experience, or the crisis of some divine process. We have now to examine the most characteristic of these conceptions whereby Paul tries to

interpret to himself the meaning and efficacy of the achievement of Christ. He sees in it the working of the Spirit, which by means of it becomes operative in all believers. "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you" (Rom. 8:11). In other words, it was the life of the Spirit that was imparted by Christ as the abiding possession of his people.

The conception of the Spirit, so fundamental in all the apostle's thinking, is a many-sided one, and we cannot here attempt to analyze it, or to trace out the different influences, Hebrew, Greek, oriental, which went to its formation. Broadly speaking, the Spirit may be defined as the divine power which belongs to the higher world and manifests itself in the new age. As such it is contrasted with the flesh, the ruling principle of the present order, which lies under the dominion of sin and death. The flesh makes for corruption; the Spirit is life-giving, and can itself be described as life. In Christ the Spirit was present, as the power that constituted his nature and expressed itself through all his work. And in the church, which is the body of Christ, this power that dwelt in him continues to reveal its presence. It is the source of the marvelous gifts exercised by believers, of the new intimations of God's will and purposes, of the higher moral activities. Above all, by their possession of the spirit given by Christ, his people have obtained life. The life will be fully realized hereafter, when it is allied with another and more adequate body; but already it is inwardly present. In the Spirit which is now theirs the believers have an "earnest" of that new life which flows from the Spirit. "If Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness" (Rom. 8:10). The work of Christ has resulted in this, that the old principle of the flesh, with its conditions of sin and mortality, has been done away, and its place has been taken by a new and higher principle. "The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening Spirit" (I Cor. 15:45). Or, as Paul expresses it elsewhere, man's nature is brought under a different law by Christ, and is thus transformed and liberated. "The law of the Spirit of life in

Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death" (Rom 8:2).

In his doctrine of the Spirit, therefore, Paul offers an interpretation of the redeeming work of Christ. By means of it, also, he seeks to provide a speculative basis for the hope of immortality. He set out, we must remember, from the traditional Jewish conception, according to which man was only "a living soul"—a creature of flesh and blood whose natural lot was to perish. The Greek thinkers had argued for an immortality which was inherent in man as an intellectual being; but this view was altogether alien to Paul. He was thus confronted with the problem of how man, an earthly creature, could yet participate in the world of incorruption, and he was able to solve it in only one way. Man's nature is in itself corruptible, but it undergoes a change through the entrance into it of a higher element. The Spirit with which we are endued by Christ takes the place of the "living soul." The principle of our being is henceforth spiritual, and we are rendered capable of laying hold on the new life which is offered us. Even while we yet remain in the body we are conscious in ourselves of the promise of immortality. Our own life has become interfused with that of the Spirit, which belongs to the eternal world.

At this point, however, we have to consider the further development of Paul's doctrine, to which it owes its permanent significance. He thinks of the Spirit not only as a metaphysical principle, but as the new moral power, operative in the Christian life. It manifests itself by a work of regeneration effected in the mind and character. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith" (Gal. 5:22). Perhaps it was Paul's chief service to Christian thought that he thus connected the working of the Spirit with the life of moral obedience. He saw the supernatural element of Christianity, not in miracles and gifts of tongues, but in the power which cleansed men's hearts and renewed their wills. This power could only proceed from the Spirit of God. Paul can speak, therefore, in interchangeable terms of the life imparted by the Spirit and the moral activities which flow from Christian discipleship. When he distinguishes between the outward man that perishes and the inward man that is renewed day

by day, the contrast in his mind is that of the merely physical, and the moral and religious life. To fulfil the law of Christ is to sow to the Spirit and reap from it life everlasting. Thus in the last resort Paul's conception of the new life which cannot be destroyed by death is the same as that of Jesus. To Jesus the moral ideals are the sole realities, and to live for them is to rise out of this perishing world and to lay up for ourselves treasures in heaven. Paul also discovers the true and enduring life in love, goodness, faith. Having within us this mind of Christ we possess the Spirit, which is the earnest of immortality.

But while the apostle's thought may thus be expressed in ethical terms, we need to recognize the peculiar implications of his doctrine of the Spirit. The Christian life, as he regarded it, was in a literal and almost material sense a new creation. Those moral activities of which it was capable had their ground in a divine energy that had entered into the believer and replaced the old principle of his being. Not a little of the difficulty of Paul's teaching is due to this curious blending, entirely foreign to our modern modes of thought, of ethical and semiphysical ideas. The Spirit is at once a regenerating moral power and a sort of ethereal substance which takes possession of the fleshly nature. It is necessary to bear this in mind before we proceed to examine that special aspect of Paul's conception of immortality which is set forth in the great passage of I Cor. He there anticipates a future when the spiritual life, already manifesting itself in Christian discipleship, will be clothed with a "spiritual body."

THE LEPROSY OF THE BIBLE IN ITS MEDICAL ASPECT

ERNEST L. McEWEN, M.S., M.D.
Instructor in Dermatology, Rush Medical College, Chicago, Ill.

The word leprosy occurring in our English Bible is commonly interpreted as referring to the disease known today by the same name. Whether identity exists or not is of more than academic interest, for there are many reasons for believing that the extraordinary fear of leprosy, which is so universally present today and which has worked hardship and misery to so many unfortunate victims of the disease, is a result, in part at least, of the influence of the biblical references to "leprosy." These accounts, when interpreted literally, depict the condition as most terrible, and belief in them is widespread since the Bible, accepted by millions as a revelation of the divine, is the most read book in the world.

What was the *zaraath* of the Hebrews, the leprosy of the Old Testament?

To this question much thought has been given. The conclusions reached are by no means uniform. A noticeable feature present in practically all of the work done by medical investigators is the endeavor to build up a disease entity from the meager array of symptoms given, and thus to identify *zaraath* with some known disorder; while at the same time, the purpose of the law of leprosy as sanitary being accepted without a question, no careful investigation is made of the true significance of the "uncleanness" of *zaraath*, so constantly referred to in the biblical text. The theologians, on the other hand, have understood better the meaning of "unclean," but have not been able to estimate the value of the medical descriptions of *zaraath*. The divorcement of the medical and religious in the consideration of the problem is obviously a mistake; a rational conclusion is scarcely possible if the effort toward it does not take cognizance of both these factors, assigning to each a proper value in the final summary of evidence.

Leprosy is a disease probably as old as the human race, but early evidences of its existence are difficult to trace. It is supposed to have originated in Egypt. Manetho, an Egyptian historian, writing in Greek about 300 B.C., states that at the time of the great exodus there were eighty thousand Hebrews afflicted with "lepra" in Egypt. This word *lepra* which, after centuries of confusion, became synonymous with "leprosy" about 60 years ago, was coined by the Greeks, and is derived from an Indo-Germanic root *lap*, meaning "to scale," "to peel off." It was used by Hippocrates, who lived in the fifth century B.C., to designate skin conditions characterized by scaling. In the first century B.C. the name "elephantiasis" was given to what seems to have been true leprosy. Celsus, at the time of Jesus, describes under that caption a condition which is plainly leprosy. It appears, therefore, that at the beginning of the Christian era *lepra graecorum* and *elephantiasis graecorum* were conceived as separate and distinct conditions, the former including various scaling skin diseases, the latter referring to true leprosy.

In the Septuagint we find the first rendition of the Hebrew *zaraath* into another language. This translation, which was held in special esteem, was begun in Alexandria about 250 B.C., not many years after Manetho, a resident of that city, had made his statement as to the number of Hebrews affected with *lepra* at the time of the exodus from Egypt, and before the description of true leprosy as *elephantiasis graecorum*. The translators of the Septuagint, probably influenced by the words of Manetho and practically without knowledge of the condition *elephantiasis*, rendered the Hebrew word *zaraath* as *lepra*, and we are warranted in affirming that the pathological significance attaching to the word *lepra* as understood by them was that given it by Hippocrates, i.e., a condition of the skin characterized by scaliness.

When the writings of the Arabian physicians were first translated into Latin in the eleventh century a curious error occurred which served to add to the word *lepra* the significance of *elephantiasis graecorum* (leprosy). Under the name *judham* the Arabians presented the clinical picture of true leprosy; under the caption *dal fil*, an expression meaning "elephant's foot," they described

a condition which we recognize today and which has no relation to leprosy. The translators into Latin, noting the similarity of idea in the words *dal fil* and *elephantiasis*, made them equivalent in their rendition. *Judham* or true leprosy was translated *lepra*. By this double error *elephantiasis graecorum*, the equivalent of *judham*, both meaning true leprosy, was made the equivalent of *lepra*, which term thereby came to have two meanings: scaliness of the skin (the original Hippocrates significance), and *elephantiasis graecorum* (leprosy). When in the Authorized Version, therefore, the *zaraath* of the Hebrews was rendered leprosy, an added meaning, that of *elephantiasis graecorum*, was given to the Hebrew word which did not reside in *lepra*, the equivalent of *zaraath* in the Septuagint.

The references to leprosy in the Old Testament may roughly be classed into two groups. The first comprises those in which the disease is associated with elements which are miraculous in nature, as the sudden development of leprosy in an individual as a token of God's power or as a punishment for wrongdoing, or the healing of leprosy by a prophet. In these instances the root meaning of *zaraath*, "to strike suddenly," is evident. The second group has to do with the so-called "law of leprosy," i.e., the body of regulations which were to guide the Hebrews in all matters relating to that condition. In Lev., chaps. 13 and 14, is found an extensive account of leprosy as seen in man, in a garment, and in a house, and of the relations which the person or thing affected must sustain to the people of Israel at large. As to human leprosy, elaborate directions are given which were to guide the priests in the recognition of the disorder, the rendition of the verdict unclean, the separation of the victim from among the people, and the purification necessary before restoration to a state of cleanness. Respecting the singular conceptions, "garment leprosy" and "house leprosy," full details are given, and the rules laid down for the recognition of the leprosy and for the isolation, destruction, or purification of the garment or house affected strongly resemble the preceding laws relating to the human disorder. Finally the purpose of the "law of leprosy" is declared.

To the first group mentioned belong the story of the leprosy of

Moses, found in Exod. 4:6–7; of Miriam, Num., chap. 12; of Namaan, II Kings, chap. 5; and of Uzziah, II Chron., chap. 26. In these, in addition to the idea of sudden infliction as a punishment for wrongdoing, the notion of "whiteness" of the disease is emphasized. Whiteness is in no sense a constant characteristic of true leprosy; in fact it is rarely seen, and never in such a degree as to constitute a dominating clinical element. Whiteness "as snow" is conceivable in certain forms of skin eruptions attended with scaling, i.e., the Hippocratic *lepra*.

In the so-called "law of leprosy," found in Lev., chaps. 13 and 14, four points are made prominent: the recognition of leprosy, the rendition of the verdict unclean, the separation of the victim from among the people, and the later purification of the leper. Literal interpretation of this portion of the Scriptures is largely responsible for the widespread belief in the awfulness of leprosy and in its profound contagiousness. In these chapters we find a series of descriptions of skin conditions which were to be pronounced leprous by the priest. These are meager and crudely drawn clinical pictures, and associated with them are certain differential criteria intended to assist the priest in properly distinguishing between the leprous and the non-leprous. There are mentioned, in all, eleven states of pathological change in the skin which were to be called leprosy; and paired with each of these except the last are conditions similar in sign and symptom, but with one or more differentiating characteristics which place them in the non-leprosy category. Throughout these descriptions a certain uniformity is present. The first is found in vss. 1–7 and is fairly representative of the others.

1. And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron saying, 2. When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a rising, a scab, or bright spot, and it be in the skin of his flesh like unto the plague of leprosy; then he shall be brought unto Aaron, the priest, or unto one of his sons, the priests: 3. And the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh; and when the hair in the plague is turned white and the plague in sight be deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is the plague of leprosy; and the priest shall look upon him and pronounce him unclean.

A brief analysis of these verses will show their actual value as descriptive of disease:

The word "swelling" is given as a substitute reading for "rising" (*seth*); an elevated lesion is unquestionably referred to. The meaning of "scab" (*sappahath*) is very doubtful; it is supposed to refer to a gathering, an eruption. If we accept "scab" as the rendition, we must understand the condition to be one characterized by crust-formation, the result of the desiccation of pathologic secretions upon the skin. A "white spot" (*bahereth*) would seem to describe a condition of shining or brightness; something that would stand out in contrast to the normal skin; in view of the notion "fiery" which exists in the Hebrew word, we might with propriety consider the spot to present a bright red color. We have, therefore, three simple conditions which were to be shown to the priest as suspicious of leprosy:

1. An elevation or "rising" of the skin.
2. A crusted lesion upon the skin (more broadly, a skin eruption of some indefinite sort).
3. A spot on the skin characterized by shininess; glistening, possibly fiery red.

With these before him, the priest is directed to make the diagnosis of leprosy if the hair in the lesion be turned white and if the lesions be lower than the surrounding skin. In the absence of these two differential signs, the diagnosis of "scab" is to be made if the lesion fades and does not spread after an isolation of fourteen days. If, however, after this period of observation, the "scab" spreads in the skin, it becomes leprosy (vss. 4–7). Hence, as set forth in these verses, the leprosy complex may be:

1. An elevated lesion of the skin from which white hair is growing or which is depressed below the surrounding skin level (!), or which spreads to other parts of the body surface.
2. A crusted lesion of the skin which presents a growth of white hairs or which is depressed below the surrounding level (i.e., a crust-covered ulcer), or which spreads to other parts.
3. A spot contrasting with the normal skin, shining, glistening, or fiery red, which presents a white hair or which spreads to other parts.

When we endeavor to place these symptom-groups in any specific disease category, we encounter difficulty at once. With possibly one or two exceptions, they are not characteristic of any

definite skin disease, and from them no diagnosis is possible. They could be present in scores of diseased conditions of the skin in which inflammation is a factor, including leprosy. A raised skin lesion in which a growth of white hair is present cannot by any distortion be declared leprosy, without other determinate findings, though in popular belief leprosy is white. An elevation of the skin which is depressed below the surrounding surface is logically an absurdity. The spread of a raised lesion cannot, rationally, constitute a leprosy. A crust-covered ulcer may be found in leprosy, but it may also appear in many other cutaneous diseases, as cancer, smallpox, syphilis, and tuberculosis; it is not, therefore, a decisive factor in the differential diagnosis of a skin condition. Hair is not usually found growing in an ulcer, nor is the spread of an ulcer in any sense a specific evidence of a leprous condition. The differential criteria, white hair, depression, and spreading, are absurdly insufficient to constitute a dividing line between harmless skin diseases and leprosy. The third complex given might, without great distortion, be considered fairly descriptive of two alterations from the normal in the skin (provided we omit the notion "fiery red" from the original), known as vitiligo and morphea. These are relatively rare conditions, non-contagious, and in no way related to the disease leprosy.

It is plain from this analysis that true leprosy is not described in these seven verses. The remaining clinical pictures present striking similarities to the first one. In general the recorder stays within a relatively narrow circle in his description; the terms used are generic rather than specific, and there is almost a complete absence of modifying factors which are so essential in separating one disease from another. The paucity of clinical facts available from the diagnosis will be seen if we classify those which count for leprosy. The essential clinical elements in the eleven conditions considered leprous are as follows:

1. Scab; rising or bright spot; hair in lesion turned white; depression of lesion below surrounding skin (vss. 1–3).

2. Spread of lesion under observation without hair in lesion or depression of lesion (vss. 4–8).

3. Rising; hair turned white in lesion; raw flesh (vss. 9–11).

4. Raw flesh (vss. 14–15).

5. Boil; white rising, somewhat reddish; hair turned white in the lesion; depression of lesion (vss. 18–20).

6. Spread of lesion under observation, without depression and without white hair (vs. 22).

7. Hot burning (or burn); quick flesh; white bright spot, somewhat reddish; hair turned white in lesion; depression of lesion (vss. 24–25).

8. Spread of lesion under observation, without white hair or depression (vss. 26–27).

9. Plague; dry scall; depression of lesion; thin yellowish hair in lesion (vss. 29–30).

10. Spread of lesion under observation, without depression and without yellow hair (vss. 31–36).

11. White reddish sore in forehead (vss. 42–44).

In this enumeration, certain elements more or less similar are primary in their use; that is, they form the basis of the further description. These terms so fundamentally used are as follows:

Rising, scab, bright spot, quick raw flesh, burning or burn, plague, scall, sore.

It will be seen that these are generic terms applicable to many conditions. The factors which modify the primary lesions are:

Depression of the surface of the part affected, occurring four times.

Hair turned white in the lesion: four times.

Spread of the lesion under observation without white hair (in one instance yellow hair), and without depression of lesion: four times.

Reddish color in lesion: three times.

Assuming that these terms are actually differential (which they are not), their number and variety are far too scant effectually to distinguish leprosy from the many other skin affections which must have prevailed at that time. It is futile to attempt to discover from the context precisely what diseases were included in the several descriptions; at best one may say all the conditions mentioned are inflammations and these comprise at least two-thirds of all diseases of the skin. The purpose of the chapter cannot be to define the disease leprosy; viewed medically, it presents simply a grouping of indefinite descriptions, applicable in a meager degree to many forms of the skin diseases of the inflammatory type, including leprosy, and characteristic of none.

That the central thought is uncleanness and not leprosy is made apparent in the last verses of chap. 14:

54. This is the law for all manner of leprosy and for a scall. 55. And for the leprosy of a garment and of a house and for a rising and for a scab and for a bright spot. 56. To teach when it is unclean and when it is clean. This is the law of leprosy.

Moreover the law of leprosy, by its position in the Book of Leviticus, is plainly a part of an extensive code of laws relating to the clean and the unclean found in chaps. 11–17.

In considering the significance of "uncleanness" the question immediately presents itself, Were not the laws relating to leprosy in reality sanitary measures devised by an extraordinarily capable law-giver for a people who needed such legislation?

In answering this question a distinction must be made between intention and effect. It is extremely doubtful if the purpose of these laws was the furtherance of sanitation. On the other hand, it is very probable that they contributed to that end. The arbitrary differences between the clean and the unclean, so elaborately set forth in the record, are not in keeping with the requirements of sanitary law. The line which separates the safe and the unsafe as regards health is not determined by factors which are inconsequential both in themselves and in their relations to diseased conditions, as, for instance, white hairs, or white hairs growing in a lesion of the skin. The extensive sacrificial and ritualistic procedure necessary for purification argue a religious and not a sanitary intent behind the giving of the law. Further, it must be remembered that modern medical science is a development of relatively recent time; the nineteenth century witnessed greater advancement in medicine and its allied subject, sanitation, than all the previous periods of the world's history. At the time Moses, the great leader of the nomadic Hebrews, is supposed to have lived—about 1200 B.C.—or at the time the Levitical record was committed to writing—about 400 B.C.—or at any time between these two periods—it is highly improbable, considering the state of civilization known to exist among the Semitic nations within the dates given, that such elaborate laws as those of the Mosaic code which relate to the clean and the unclean would have been devised or even thought of as sanitary measures.

It is not to be denied, however, that the Levitical law relative

to leprosy operated favorably in the direction of public health. Certain commands, repeatedly enjoined, were distinctly hygienic in tendency, as the bathing of the body, and the washing of the clothes in the process of purification; the temporary isolation of individuals doubtfully "clean," some of whom were unquestionably afflicted with contagious inflammatory skin diseases; and the complete separation from the people of those wholly unclean, among which number some, perhaps many, were doubtless capable of harming others by reason of their physical condition. But while the hygienic effect of the Mosaic law cannot be successfully disputed, a like statement regarding the purpose of the law is not warranted; hence we may regard the sanitary features as accidental and not the result of plan. The true explanation of clean and unclean must be sought in the religious conceptions of the times, so intimately associated with the Hebrew law in all its relations; and the fact that the Hebrew word *timme*, which is rendered "to pronounce unclean," may be translated "to declare unfit to associate with the worshipers of Deity" lends confirmation to this view.

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

Beginning with October the *Biblical World* will publish in each number under the above caption material designed to make the work of the American Institute of Sacred Literature more easily accessible, and to render more direct and specific aid to those ministers and laymen who are studying and directing the study of others along certain definite lines.

Two distinct lines of work will be represented. The first is "The Professional Reading-Course." Under the direction of a scholar who is an authority on the subject of the course, a list of books will be presented upon some definite theme, and month by month reviews of these books will follow. These critiques will be prepared with the aim of giving assistance to ministers and others who wish to undertake the course of reading. To serve the needs of groups of ministers who may find it agreeable to meet together for the discussion of the results of this reading, a list of topics suitable for such discussions will follow the review of each book.

"The Character of Jesus in the Light of Modern Scholarship" is the subject of the reading-course for the autumn and early winter. It will begin with the October number, and will continue until February. It will be followed immediately by another course on "The Efficiency of the Church in the Local Community and in Wider Relationships." Those who pursue this work will have the privilege of submitting questions to the director of the course to be answered by him either in the following number of the journal or by personal letter.

The second line of work will be for the benefit of those ministers and laymen who are charged with the direction of clubs of Sunday-school teachers, young people, or adults in the church or community. Upon two of the outline courses of the Institute there will be furnished each month from October to June material designed to aid those who have charge of such courses. This will include full library references to books both new and old, and to recent periodicals, programs for meetings of classes, and reports or helpful suggestions from other classes and leaders. The club work will be directed by the Secretary for the Reading and Library Department of the Institute, who will also receive and answer by personal letter or through the pages of the *Biblical World* questions that may be asked.

The courses selected for special emphasis in the year beginning with October are: "The Social and Ethical Teachings of Jesus," chosen because of the widespread interest in social phases of Christian work at this time; and "The Origin and Religious Teaching of the Old Testament Books," a course which provides a basis for a simple yet comprehensive study of the growth and development of the Old Testament in a constructive way.

In publishing this material it has been arranged between the *Biblical World* and the Institute that the subscription to the journal (two dollars) shall cover membership in the Institute and vice versa so far as the professional reading-courses and relations with club leaders is concerned. Persons desiring to pursue a professional reading-course or to conduct a Bible club will receive the needed assistance and direction in the *Biblical World*. Club leaders will also receive in addition a full copy of the course which they are to teach, upon receipt of their first list of names, the fee for club members being fifty cents as heretofore. This preliminary announcement will prepare leaders to choose between the two club courses offered and will help ministers who wish to systematize their reading for the coming year to make definite plans. So far as possible the Institute will provide traveling libraries for ministers who desire them, at an additional cost of three dollars for each library, delivered free but returned at the cost of the reader.

The other eight outline courses of the Institute and the other sixteen professional reading-courses will continue to be available for those who prefer them. But special collateral material will be furnished in the *Biblical World* only for the courses named.

Communications concerning the above courses sent to the *Biblical World* marked "For the American Institute" will receive prompt attention from the officers of the Institute.

Exploration and Discovery

In the spring of this year Professor A. H. Sayce made a visit to an unexplored region of North Syria. Professor Sayce traveled from Aleppo northeast across the Sajur to Carchemish and Birejik on the Euphrates, and found the region full of tels and somewhat rich in ruins and remains. A full report of his journey and observations appears in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for June 14, 1911.

On April 6, 1911, the Palestine Exploration Fund undertook excavations at 'Ain Shems, the ancient Beth Shemesh, which were continued until May 17. Dr. Duncan Mackenzie had charge of the excavations, employing thirty-six workmen at first, and increasing the number until at the close of the campaign one hundred and sixty-seven were employed. The remains at Beth Shemesh include Arab, Byzantine, Semitic, and earlier strata, reaching back, it is thought, even to the Bronze Age. Already it is apparent that the city suffered at least one thorough sack and conflagration, and Dr. Mackenzie is hopeful that the period to which this destruction belonged may be determined. Dr. Mackenzie's work has been visited by Father Vincent, of Jerusalem, and Sir Charles Watson, who report their impressions of its interest and promise in the July *Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

The widespread publication of the report of a new gospel fragment found in Egypt calls for a word of correction. The fragment in question will be readily recognized as the single tiny parchment leaf found by Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus in December, 1905, announced, with a translation, in the London *Times* of May 14, 1906, and in American papers on the following day, and published in Greek and English with critical notes in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. V, 1908. The readers of the *Biblical World* will remember the publication in this journal for February, 1908, of a facsimile, translation, and discussion of this interesting document, which may with some probability be assigned to the later and extended form of the ancient Gospel According to the Hebrews. The reported connection of the discovery and translation of the fragment with the recent visit of Professor Thomas Whittemore, of Tufts College, to Egypt, is of course without foundation. But it is true that such concrete results may be expected from the excavations of the Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Work and Workers

Professor Caspar René Gregory, of the University of Leipzig, is visiting America this autumn, lecturing on theological subjects in leading institutions, east and west.

Dr. Charles Reynolds Brown, lately pastor of the First Congregational Church of Oakland, California, has accepted the office of Dean of the Yale Divinity School.

The Blakeslee Lessons system, widely used throughout this country, has been taken over from the Bible Study Publishing Co. by Charles Scribner's Sons, and will hereafter be conducted by them.

Dr. Charles Macauley Stuart, formerly professor of sacred rhetoric in Garrett Biblical Institute, and recently editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate,* has been appointed president of Garrett Biblical Institute, to succeed Dr. Charles Joseph Little, recently deceased.

The death of Paul Ewald, since 1894 professor of dogmatics and New Testament interpretation at the University of Erlangen, removes a diligent and effective worker in the field of New Testament scholarship. He was born in Leipzig in 1857, and studied theology at the University of Leipzig and Erlangen, receiving his Doctor's degree at Leipzig in 1881. With his dissertation of that year began a long series of contributions to New Testament theology and criticism. Perhaps his best known works are his volumes in Zahn's *Kommentar* on the Epistles to the Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon, 1905–8.

In the death of Rev. Hermann Adler the Jews of Great Britain have lost a notable leader, long identified with educational, humanitarian, and social movements. Dr. Adler was born in 1839 and was educated at University College, London, and at the universities of Leipzig and Prague. He was actively connected with Jewish educational institutions; was honored by election as Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire in 1891; received the degree of LL.D. from St. Andrew's in 1899, and wrote some books and many articles, notably for the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*

Book Reviews

PALESTINE

This important work on the physical geography of Palestine is the fruit of studies carried on in the land in connection with the Yale expedition of 1909.[1] The author is a trained geographer, who has won renown as an explorer in Central Asia; and his description of the Holy Land differs in many respects from those of his predecessors, whose interests have been mainly religious or historical. The two aims of the book are to show, first, how the geological and physical features of the different sections of the country have affected the mental characteristics of their inhabitants; and, second, how changes of climate have modified the history of the land.

In the Tertiary age there was a great upheaval of the earth's surface along the eastern end of the Mediterranean, followed by a dropping of the center of the elevation. Thus arose five parallel regions extending from north to south: the Maritime Plain, the Western Highland, the Jordan Depression, the Eastern Highland, and the Eastern Plateau. These regions are cut up into smaller sections by transverse faults running from east to west. Thus south of Hebron there is a sudden depression of 2,000 ft. that separates the Negeb from Judea. A similar line separates Judea from Samaria, and Moab from Gilead. Still another line is the great fault of Esdraelon that separates Samaria from Galilee and Gilead from Bashan. The fourth line is the rapid ascent from Galilee to Lebanon and from Bashan to Anti-Lebanon. Palestine is thus cut up into small districts, like the squares on a checkerboard, that differ radically from one another in their physical features. The heart of the land is the high plateau of Judea. It is inaccessible to its neighbors, it supports life only with hard labor, it affords far-reaching and inspiring outlooks. These facts explain much of the mental and religious characteristics of the Judeans. Samaria, on the other hand, is a fertile and uninspiring region, easily accessible to the outer world; hence the characteristics of the inhabitants of the Northern Kingdom. Phoenicia is the only part of the coast that possesses harbors, and here the arable maritime plain is narrow; hence the sea-going propensities of the

[1] *Palestine and Its Transformation.* By Ellsworth Huntington, Assistant Professor of Geography in Yale University. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911. Pp. 443, 4 maps, 8 figs., 27 illustrations. $2.00 net.

Phoenicians. Philistia has no harbors, but has a broad maritime plain, and is traversed by the trade-routes to Egypt; hence the early civilization of the Philistines and their lack of permanent national characteristics.

In regard to the climate, the author holds that there has been a pulsatory variation in rainfall within historic times. The proof of this he finds (1) in the greater density of population in antiquity, (2) the disappearance of forests, (3) the abandonment of trade-routes, (4) the presence of ancient cisterns, reservoirs, and bridges in now arid regions, and (5) the elevated beaches of the Dead Sea, which prove that in antiquity its waters stood at higher levels than at present. At the beginning of the Christian era the rainfall was copious. About 600 A.D. it was slight. It increased during the Middle Ages, but declined again about 1200 A.D. At present it is again slight. The increasing aridity of the seventh century was the cause of the great Muhammadan-Arab migration; that of the thirteenth century of the Mongol migration. Carrying the analogy back into earlier times, it is probable that the migrations which brought the Amorites, the Aramaeans, and the Nabataeans out of the desert into the more fertile adjacent regions coincided with periods of increasing aridity in Western Asia.

This book may unhesitatingly be recommended as one of the most important recent contributions to the geography of Palestine.

LEWIS B. PATON

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Professor Kent is widely known through the many valuable publications in which he has brought to the attention of Bible students everywhere the methods and results of the modern study of the Bible. His latest contribution is a volume on *Biblical Geography and History*, in which he furnishes in compact, clear, and attractive form a statement of "all the significant facts" that the Bible student should know in order to appreciate fully the literature and history of the Bible.[1] As usual, Professor Kent has performed his task well.

The book is divided into two parts: I, "Physical Geography," chaps. i–ix; and II, "Historical Geography," chaps. x–xxv. The first part gives a clear and vivid picture of the important physical characteristics of Bible lands in general, more especially of Palestine. Special

[1] *Biblical Geography and History*. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT. New York: Scribner, 1911. 296 pages. $1.50.

attention may be called to chap. ix, dealing with the historical significance of the great highways of the Biblical world, which "were thus the natural bonds that bound together the human race in one common brotherhood." The second part presents the chief characters, movements, and events of Bible history to the close of Paul's missionary journeys. The progress of the history is viewed from the standpoint of historical geography, the author always being careful to point out the influence of geographical features upon the historical development. Everywhere the writer makes use of the results of recent explorations and excavations in Palestine, Egypt, and other lands. The capacity and needs of the ordinary, intelligent Bible student are constantly kept in mind, so that the treatment is popular in the best sense of the term; at the same time there is on every page abundant evidence of the thoroughgoing scholarship of the author.

The maps prepared with much care and embodying the latest results of explorations and excavations are a valuable feature of the book; and the student who desires to pursue more extensive studies will find the bibliography in Appendix I very useful. It is only natural that in a few cases questions may be raised concerning the correctness of the author's opinion, as, for example, his outline of events during the early post-exilic period. This is simply due to the absence of definite information, when conjecture must have a part in any scheme of reconstruction. But these cases are very few, and on the whole the book may be most highly recommended, and it should have a place in the library of every serious student of the Bible.

FREDERICK CARL EISELEN

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE
EVANSTON, ILL.

THE MESSIANISM OF JESUS

The center of interest in New Testament study continues to be the person, mission, and message of the historical Jesus. We are constantly being placed under obligations to scholars who are devoting their best energies to the task of attempting to rediscover, as far as possible, the facts about that supreme personality who stands at the heart of our revelation of the Father. The problem is a difficult one and he would be bold indeed who ventured to say that a clear solution was yet in sight. The importance of the subject, however, causes those who are interested to hail with delight a book which promises to furnish a clue as to the

manner in which the labyrinth may be threaded. Such a work is Professor Scott's new book *The Kingdom and the Messiah.*[1]

It is an attempt to interpret Jesus and his message in the light of apocalyptic Judaism, with special emphasis on the two ideas of the Kingdom and the Messiah. The contention is made that there was an intimate relation between the thought and message of Jesus and the apocalyptic hopes of his people, but that the message is in no way invalidated thereby. In two excellent chapters the author gives historical summaries of the Israelitish ideas of the Kingdom of God and the Messiah, thus furnishing the reader with a fairly adequate background for the interpretation of Jesus which is to follow. The work of John the Baptist and his relation to Jesus are then considered in an interesting and vigorous way. The suggestion of a somewhat close and amicable relationship between John and the Pharisees will seem rather strange to many. The essence of John's work was prophetic, and in his ethical demands and his declaration of the imminence of the Kingdom he prepared the way in a real sense for Jesus. The identification of John with Elijah in the thought of Jesus was a factor of supreme importance in the development and perfecting of his messianic self-consciousness.

In his treatment of the Kingdom in the teaching of Jesus the author maintains that "Jesus, like John, fell back on the expectation that was current among the Jewish people," although he impregnated it with "new religious ideas." The Kingdom with Jesus was "the new order consequent on the assertion by God of his sovereignty over the world." It was a future kingdom to be realized on the earth and to be inaugurated suddenly by the interposition of God. There was, however, a sense in which the Kingdom was already present. The miracles were adumbrations of its mighty forces which were even then brooding over the world. In an anticipatory way the Kingdom could be said to be among them.

The work of Jesus was preparatory. Repentance and renunciation of social and business ties are the fundamental demands of his preaching, based on the changed relationships which are to obtain in the "new order." The missionary work of the disciples was designed to arouse expectation and enthusiasm throughout the country simultaneously, as far as possible, in order to hasten the coming of the Kingdom.

From the beginning of his ministry Jesus intimately associated the Kingdom with his person and work. He was the "representative of the new order." In this more general idea we are to find the basis of

[1] *The Kingdom and the Messiah.* By Ernest F. Scott. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. 261. $2.00.

his messianic consciousness which did not come to him fully till rather late in his public ministry. Not until the confession at Caesarea Philippi is there any avowal of his messiahship. The silence until this time is due to the fact that his messiahship was a problem to him, the solution of which was very gradual.

He accepted the ordinary view that the Messiah was the promised Davidic king. The acceptance of the title made this necessary, as it would have been meaningless to the people otherwise. But with the aid of the Old Testament he was enabled so to interpret the messianic hope that it became consistent with his own aims. He took the Davidic kingly conception and the idea of a supernatural being coming with the clouds of heaven and blended them. He joined his messianic claims with the thought of his death which he foresaw and foretold. The Suffering Servant of Isaiah furnished him a form for this thought of a Messiah who must die to triumph. This passage was of "cardinal importance" for him. He was to die and by his death bring in the Kingdom of God. He himself will then become the actual Messiah, in contrast to his present potential messiahship, and will enter upon his task of fulfilling the Kingdom of God. His death was his baptism and consecration to his messianic office. Thus he is at once the Son of Man coming in Glory and the suffering one. Here is the *nexus* of the two conceptions of glory and ignominious suffering. But although he hoped by his death to bring in the Kingdom which he proclaimed, he did not look for the consummation to follow immediately. Many events must take place in the meantime, but his death would be the first and decisive step in the advent of the Kingdom. Potentially his death was the coming of the Kingdom.

Such in bare outline is the thought of this book. That Professor Scott has answered all the perplexing questions that arise he himself would be the last to claim. There will be those who will not find it possible to follow him either in general outline or in detailed interpretation. Some will continue to think that the eschatological interpretation of Jesus is fraught with difficulties of the gravest nature, and that any relief which such an interpretation brings to the records is afforded at too great a cost. But whatever reservations may be made, there will be no inclination to deny that Professor Scott has made a worthy contribution to the literature of this exceedingly important subject. The book is highly suggestive and stimulating and will repay careful study.

ERNEST W. PARSONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS

The promise of two volumes a year is being kept quite faithfully by Dr. Hastings in the publication of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. The third volume now before us deepens the impression of the vastness and variegated nature of the great undertaking.[1] It is difficult to realize until after one has carefully scrutinized the volume that so many important topics fall under only a section of the letter C; for that is practically the compass of this volume. But an enumeration of some of the most important of these topics may not be without its helpfulness in enabling the student to see the breadth and comprehensiveness of the plan. It begins with Buriats and continues with Burma, Butler, Caesarism, Cakes and Loaves, Calendar, Calvinism, Cambodia, Cambridge Platonists, Canaanites, Cannibalism, Cappadocian Theology, Carnival, Casuistry, Catacombs, Catechumen, Cause and Causality, Celibacy, Celts, Certainty, Chance, Charms and Amulets, Charismata, Charity and Alms, Chastity, Children, Christianity, Church, Civilization, Commerce, Communion with Deity, Conception, Concordat, Conditional Immortality, and Confessions. There are articles omitted from this list which might from the point of view of other students be regarded as even more important or typical of the work. Be that as it may, there is enough in the list to show upon how wide a range of subjects the student may resort to it with the confidence of getting adequate, and often the very best accessible, material.

Both the strength and the weakness of the work are perhaps illustrated in the very first article—that on the Buriats. And first as to the defects. The first two volumes of the *Encyclopaedia* have already elicited from the reviewers the observation that its chief fault was a certain lack of balance and proportion. The collaboration of so many strong and well-informed men (well informed on the subjects they were treating of), with differing ideals and differing perspectives, seemed to result in the misplacement of emphasis. Each writer laid stress on what to him were the important aspects of the subject in hand at the expense of other aspects which from the point of view of the average student needed either equal or greater attention. Frequently too a topic of secondary importance, so far as its place in the general field of religion and ethics was concerned, was given a very much exaggerated and meretricious importance because of its all-absorbing interest for the

[1] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D., and other scholars. Vol. III, Buriats–Confessions. New York: Scribner, 1911. xvi+901 pages. $7.

narrow specialist writing it. All this reappears in the third volume. How it was to be altogether avoided is not clear, though perhaps more might have been done in a general editorial way toward restoring balance and proportion.

But the article on the Buriats illustrates another defect, that of the misplacement of perfectly relevant and valuable materials. If the *Encyclopaedia* was to achieve its end, it must be by furnishing exactly such information as has been brought together on the first pages of this third volume under the caption just named. And yet at first sight the question is raised, What has either religion or ethics to do with the Buriats? Are not the Buriats a peculiar variety of the Mongolian race, of whom perhaps not more than one in a hundred likely to use the *Encyclopaedia* had ever heard before? A careful scrutiny of the article shows that its interest and value consist not in what the name is likely to suggest to the mind, but in the illumination of the much greater and from the point of view of religion incomparably more significant topic of Shamanism. The student of religion would be naturally searching for the information given here under the caption of Shamanism. It is to be feared that for many this information will be concealed and lost. This is all the more to be regretted because it is given here in such a concrete and vital form. And what is true of Buriats is true of much that appears under ethnographical and geographical captions in general.

As against these impediments to the fuller usefulness of the work, however, not enough can be said in praise of the efforts of the editor to bring together from all quarters and from all sources materials of the most valuable kind in the study of religion and ethics. The breadth and variety of the plan of the editor is particularly brought into view in a series of composite articles to the making of which several, sometimes many, contributors have been made to yield their quota. The article on Calendar, for instance, which fills 150 columns, is made up of 24 parts by 20 different authors, besides one cross-reference (that to the article Hindu) to appear in a later volume. This is certainly quite a miniature encyclopaedia in itself on the particular subject of ways and methods of reckoning time among Africans, Americans, Armenians, Babylonians, Buddhists, Celts, Chinese, Egyptians, Greeks, Hebrews, Hindus, Japanese, Mexicans, Mohammedans, Persians, Polynesians, Romans, Siamese, Slavs, and Teutons. And each section of the article is the work of a specially equipped scholar, whose word can be accepted as authoritative. Similarly the article on Communion with Deity (it is to be questioned whether there ever was an article on Communion with

Deity in a theological or religious encyclopaedia before) appears in 16 parts by 13 separate contributors, each of whom presents the results of careful investigation on this aspect of the religious life in some special section of the human race.

Of particular interest in this volume of the *Encyclopaedia* is the article upon Christianity—the most important in the volume, since that on Christ is to appear in a later volume, under the name Jesus Christ. This is contributed by Principal Alfred E. Garvie, than whom no saner, better-informed, and clearer writer could have been selected to write on this subject. It is gratifying to note that Principal Garvie does not allow himself to be allured by the charm of the purely religious-historical method which is becoming so popular under the leadership of Tröltsch. On the other hand, he does not minimize the historical and external elements in the Christian religion or allow himself to fall back upon a purely dogmatic basis. He insists that the Christian religion must be viewed and presented as given in the experience and faith of believers. Yet questions regarding its origin and course through the history of the world must be treated in a purely historical spirit and through historical methods. His own treatment in this article, it is needless to add, proceeds along these lines and issues in the redefinition of Christianity as an ethical as distinguished from a natural religion, with the idea of redemption through the mediation of Christ as its center.

To mention other articles in detail is neither necessary nor practicable in this brief notice. A mere allusion, however, to the last subject treated in the volume may advance the realization of the fact that there are articles that deserve such mention. This is a full and fairly exhaustive dissertation on credal statements under the caption of Confessions. It closes with a historical table of the Christian Confessions, brought down to 1910.

ANDREW C. ZENOS

McCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
CHICAGO, ILL.

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

ARTICLES

WOLFENSON, LOUIS B. The Character, Contents, and Date of Ruth, *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, July, 1911, pp. 285–300.

A skilful argument in behalf of the proposition that the Book of Ruth was written early in Israel's history, somewhere prior to the Deuteronomic reformation.

HIRSCH, E. G. Notes on Deut., chap. 33, *ibid.*, pp. 339–42.

Rabbi Hirsch sets forth reasons leading him to think that the "Blessing of Moses" is not from one author, but from several. The prologue and epilogue have a separate author for each and the "Blessings" proper originated in entire independence one of another. They date back probably as early as the days of the Judges and they were brought together by an editor in the days of the Elohist, somewhere in the eighth century.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

American Standard New Testament and Psalms. India paper edition. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1911.

This compact and elegant volume, printed in large, clear type, will be a convenience to many ministers and teachers who may wish a New Testament which is very clearly legible without being bulky.

FIRTH, FRANK J. The Holy Gospel: A Comparison of the Gospel Text as It Is Given in the Protestant and Roman Catholic Bible Versions in the English Language in Use in America. With a Brief Account of the Origins of the Several Versions. New York: Revell, 1911. Pp. 501. $1.00.

The 1611, Revised, American Standard, and Douay versions of the Four Gospels are printed in parallel columns, to exhibit their general agreement. The omission of the notes leaves some passages of more than doubtful authenticity, like Mark 16:9–20, Luke 22:43, etc., standing without qualification in the Standard version, and the modest introduction might have been a little more accurate at some points, but the conspectus of texts, even in the modernized forms used, is of some little interest.

PIEPENBRING, C. Jésus et les apôtres. Paris: Nourry, 1911. Pp. 329.

A clear and intelligent sketch of the rise of Christianity under the aspects of Jewish Christianity and of Paulinism. Piepenbring concludes that the oldest sources for our Gospels cannot have been a product of Paulinism, or of Jerusalem Christianity, but must proceed from Galilean followers of Jesus and represent with practical fidelity his ministry. The Gospels bear the stamp of historicity and, when historically examined, reveal to us in substance the gospel of Jesus himself.

HOBART, ALVAH S. A Key to the New Testament, or Letters to Teachers Concerning the Interpretation of the New Testament. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1911. Pp. 175. 40 cents.

Professor Hobart's letters have been developed through his commendable activity in helping by correspondence Christian teachers without theological training, but desirous of intelligent guidance. He deals with various aspects of interpretation in an elementary way, doubtless useful enough to his correspondents, but not always in full accord with strict historical method.

HOLTZMANN, HEINRICH. Praktische Erklärung des I Thessalonicherbriefes. Neu herausgegeben von Eduard Simons. Tübingen: Mohr, 1911. Pp. 163. M. 2.50.

It was the conviction of Professor Holtzmann that scientific exegesis alone does not meet the needs of the church; that the practical explanation of the Scriptures with a view to edification must be cultivated. To this task he himself in his Heidelberg period contributed, through the *Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie*, a discussion of Hebrews (1891) and of I Thess. (1880–86). This latter work, now republished by Professor Simons, is an interesting example of a rigorous biblical critic's interest and skill in the "practical" treatment of the Scriptures.

MACPHAIL, S. R. Colossians, with Introduction and Notes. (Handbooks for Bible Classes.) New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. 128.

Dr. Macphail's comment is reasonably full, sympathetic, and intellegent. His introduction, however, is meager and inadequate, both in conception and execution. The point of view is not precisely that of the historical student, and on some critical matters, e.g., the first-century date for the Didache, the writer's opinions are not well based.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

ROBINS, HENRY B. Aspects of Authority in the Christian Religion. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1911. Pp. 151. 75 cents.

Mr. Robins first gives a historical survey of standards of authority in Judaism, in the New Testament church, and in Protestantism. In a second part he considers the actual authority of the Bible, "Reason," "Conscience," "Christian Consciousness," and Jesus. The exposition is logical and clear, and is marked by fair-minded scholarship. The net result is to exhibit the spiritual power of religious authority in its various aspects while eliminating the untenable dogmatic assumptions which too often confuse and repel.

BUTLER, JAMES G. Present-Day Conservatism and Liberalism within Biblical Lines. A Concise and Comprehensive Exhibit. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 122. $1.00.

A biased and ex-parte picture of the present theological situation. Dr. Butler can evidently conceive no Christianity other than dogmatic.

HOWARD, PHILIP E. A Prayer Before the Lesson. For Superintendents and Teachers in the Sunday School and in the Quiet Hour at Home. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1911. Pp. 153. 50 cents.

A series of brief prayers suggested by various passages of Scripture in the Old and New Testaments, constituting the International Lessons for 1910. They do not wholly escape the ever-present temptation to address one's hearers instead of the Throne of Grace, but have value as representing a serious effort to make the prayer before the lesson a worthy element in the Sunday-school service.

GUNN, HARRIETTE BRONSON. In a Far Country: A Story of Christian Heroism and Achievement. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911. Pp. 244. $1.00.

Under this title Mrs. Gunn has given a readable and sometimes touching account of the missionary labors of her parents, Miles and Ruth Bronson, in India between 1835 and 1886. The book is attractively illustrated and affords a useful sidelight upon the nineteenth-century Christian missions.

THE LATE PROFESSOR EDWARD LEWIS CURTIS
Yale Divinity School

29.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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Editorial

THE RELIGIOUS DILEMMA OF THE MODERN MAN

By the modern man is meant, not every man of the present day or the average man, but the man who represents and embodies in himself the best ideals and tendencies of present-day life. Broadly speaking, he is characterized by a sense of the worth and the freedom of human personal life, by a spirit of brotherhood and democracy, by a conviction of the supremacy and centrality of the things of the spirit, and by a thirst for reality and confidence in the method of experience and criticism as he seeks to possess reality. Thus, in a word, he is a realist. While all these elements are not original with him, the combination is.

But we refer to this simply as a starting-point for a brief treatment of another matter. The modern man can neither accept nor reject either orthodoxy or liberalism, or the new-old religion of monism. Why is this? In each of these movements in their official, partisan capacity, with which alone we are concerned, there is something that the modern man cannot get on with, and also something that he cannot get on without. And it is this situation which makes his religious life difficult for himself and often misunderstood by others. Sometimes he must forego the next to the best thing in the world, which is the fellowship of religious faith. Indeed, this fellowship is supreme human enjoyment, but enjoyment is not the best thing. Veraciousness is better, and on this account he must thread his own way among these various parties.

What is there now that the modern man cannot accept in official and partisan orthodoxy? For one thing, there are its

dogmas which harmonize with only the ancient view of the world and of life and with the ecclesiastical supernaturalism of the Middle Ages. But it is not dogma even that is most offensive to the modern mind; it is the finishedness and fixedness of dogma, incongruous with a view of the world in which nothing is finished, and therefore nothing should be fixed. Even in the way orthodoxy presents the message of Jesus, there is something dogmatic in the bad sense of the word, giving that message the character of a religious law and demanding a specific conception of Jesus. For another thing, official orthodoxy has been so much concerned with the next world that it has seriously neglected the betterment of this. It has ever been too willing to identify itself with the ruling forces of this world—with money, might, monarchy, with political and social orders, while the gospel of the modern man seeks transformation of these orders, and triumph over the world of might by the world of right. Thus its devotion to the weak, the disinherited, and the belated elements of modern society falls far short of the ideals and enthusiasms with which the modern man is inspired. Still again—and this is perhaps the most serious criticism to be made here—orthodoxy has excluded the brother from his adequate and integral place in the *gospel itself*. God, the soul, the brother, these, in normal relationships making the kingdom of God, are the inalienable elements of our gospel. No one of these three as reality can be left out in its fulness and the gospel not be thereby structurally abridged. But too often "brother" does not mean everyone who wears the human countenance, but only those who confess the orthodox faith. More serious still, as mysticism restricts itself to "God and the soul, the soul and God" and luxuriates in its emotions, while the brother is not there; and as pietism indulges in its intimate feelings in the love of Christ, in the cross of Christ, in the wounds of Christ, while likewise forgetting the brother; so orthodoxy makes "sound doctrine" the center of Christianity, and in the interest of sound doctrine will mistreat, if not disown, the brother. This often leads to coolness instead of warmth, bitterness instead of good-will, oppression instead of freedom, division instead of union. It has ever been a fact that orthodoxy has violated Christian love and honorable controversy

in dealing with an opponent. Carnal weapons are used, such as misrepresentation, calumny, ridicule, and excommunication. It gives us no pleasure to recite these things but they indicate the elements in official and partisan orthodoxy which the modern man cannot endure.

But for all these and such as these, which after all have to do mainly with form, the modern man is increasingly aware that he cannot live a life of strength and depth and consolation and joy, as he ought, without the content of orthodoxy. What is that content? "God was in Christ." God's hand, God's power, God's world, God's life and love; these were in Christ. The inner world of Jesus Christ is the essence of God and therefore reveals the character of God and the attitude of God toward man. This is a truth which the orthodox dogma of the deity of Christ imperfectly formulated—a dogma, therefore, to be treated with due historical regard by the modern man, as, indeed, all dogmas should be. It is not enough for human need that Jesus should speak from the standpoint of time. The main thing is that Jesus Christ speaks to man from the standpoint of eternity. He is more than a great teacher, more than a religious genius and hero, more than a seeker after God, or a leader to God, and more even than Redeemer and Savior, as liberalism sometimes uses these words. He is not man's way to God so much as God's way to man. Jesus Christ is God manifest in the flesh; he is the revelation of the grace of God, and so the central message of orthodoxy is the forgiveness of sin through the mercy of God revealed in Christ. Thus it is because not simply the truth of man but the truth of God is reality in Christ that man's deepest longing, longing for the knowledge of God, for the nearness of God, for the fellowship of God, finds its satisfaction in the Christ of God. The question as to man always becomes, in the end, the question as to God, and we shall yet see that even our modern social question ends in the religious question. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." This is not a dogmatic theory but a fact. The life and death of Jesus Christ is the greatest fact of human history. In this fact we meet God both in his holiness and in his mercy in such a way that his holiness does not destroy us or his mercy condone our faults, but both redeem us and make us perfect as the

Father is perfect. This, and such as this, is the truth of orthodoxy, without which the deepest need of the human soul would find no adequate satisfaction. Without this truth we would not care to live at all.

But what now is there in liberalism that the modern man cannot get on with? It is what is not there! Official and partisan liberalism does not do justice to the inexorable holiness of God which judges and condemns us, or to the divine agony over sin and ruin, or to the depth of the divine mercy and long-suffering by which we are saved. Jesus is relegated so exclusively to the kingdom of the human that the mystery of God in him is faded, if not lost. It must be admitted, indeed, that the liberal preaching of the divine man Jesus can make a great impression, especially if it be done with power and depth. Still its religious defect cannot remain hidden long. The modern man misses in the message of liberalism the tone for which he is most wistful and the glow for which the religious heart yearns most. If liberalism says that God was in Christ, still it is not the great God of holy earnestness and forgiving grace that is there, and so it is a truncated and mutilated Christianity.

But for another thing, the judgment of liberalism with reference to the world and man is defective. It is too satisfied with the world as it is. Our gospel is concerned not so much with progress in civilization as with the overcoming of the world by faith, i.e., with the overcoming of its seduction, its deception, its transitoriness, aye, its death even, so that in the face of the apparent finality of death the Phoenix of our hope may rise ever anew out of the ashes of our despair. We miss this element of triumph over the world in liberalism. The soul needs to mount aloft. It craves a world-transcending asylum from shipwreck and solitude, from battlefields and the extremities of death. In a word, liberalism lacks severity, transcendence, denial of the world, and therefore does not measure up to the boldness and radicalism of the gospel with reference to these matters. In short, liberalism is too superficial in its thought of God, of the soul, and of the world, to satisfy the modern man.

But what is there now in liberalism that we cannot get on

without? It seeks to give up dogma yet to retain the best content of dogma. It seeks to find a modern form for old truths. It seeks also to bring the truth of Jesus into harmony with present-day thought and feeling. Especially does it impose on no one a law of faith, but allows the most diverse apprehension of Jesus Christ. And while, like orthodoxy, it lacks world-transforming power, it is yet trying to domesticate the kingdom of God in home and church and state. With all this, and such as this, the modern man finds himself in full accord.

While it would be not wholly true, yet it would roughly point to the truth, were we to say that the modern man accepts the content of orthodoxy but rejects its form, rejects the content of liberalism, but accepts its form. He cannot live, as he ought, without the truth of orthodoxy or without the freedom of liberalism, but since truth is more precious than even freedom, did he have to strike a choice between the two he would espouse orthodoxy.

The monistic religion remains, concerning which we have space for but a word. Both orthodoxy and liberalism go to Jesus and stop there, but monism proposes to replace and surpass Jesus, or, more strictly, it would keep Christ and discard Jesus. Only, the Christ of monism is idea or principle and not person. But ideas and principles are constructs of human heads and human hearts and cannot redeem. Only realities, only deeds, deeds of God in history at that, disclosures of God's power and goodness can redeem a man. Our gospel is not system or law or idea, any more than it is dogma or institution. And our God is not the monistic unity of God and the world, or the laws of nature, or some substance or cause. In the end, it will be seen that the modern man can accept only a personal God who is Lord and Judge of the world. Again, monism preaches a new man, as the gospel does, but its new man is the superman of Friedrich Nietzsche and not the servant of Jesus Christ.

But for all this, there are elements in this monistic religion that the modern man cannot dispense with. It is teaching us that God is not a God of the past only, but a living God of the present, so that we may live on every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God. Especially does it urge the important truth that religious

certitude is not dependent upon historical certainty. History that is mere history and not also a world of values can mean little for the man of today. This drawing of our spiritual possessions from fountains of living immediacy is a conviction which monism is urging most helpfully upon the modern world.

Even such a brief outline as this of a great subject convinces one that the modern man must "try the spirits." Using essential elements of the orthodox, the liberal and the monistic parties, he must yet seek a new way. Because it is new he will blunder; he will be led off into by-ways, and his feet will bleed and his heart be sore; but he is sure that he is fulfilling his mission according to the logic of history itself, and that in the end it will be seen that orthodox, liberal, and monist alike must turn to that truth which the modern man sees is in Jesus Christ, not for himself alone, but for all the world.

THE MINISTER AND THE BOY

I. THE CALL OF BOYHOOD

ALLAN HOBEN
The University of Chicago

The Christian apologetic for today depends less upon the arguments of speculative theology and the findings of biblical science than upon sociological considerations. The church is dealing with a pragmatic public which insists upon knowing what this or that institution accomplishes for the common good. The deep and growing interest in social science, the crying needs that it lays bare, together with socialistic dreams of human warfare, compel Christian workers to pay more heed to the life that now is, since individualistic views of salvation in the world to come do not fully satisfy the modern consciousness. Hence the ministry is compelled more and more to address itself to the salvation of the community and the nation after the fashion of the Hebrew prophets. Lines of distinction also between what is religious and what is secular in education and in all human intercourse have become irregular or dim; and the task of bringing mankind to fulness and perfection of life has become the task alike of the educator, the minister, the legislator, and the social worker. In fact, all who in any capacity put their hands to this noble undertaking are co-workers with him whose divine ideal was to be consummated in the Kingdom of God on earth.

The ministry, therefore, is taking on a great variety of forms of service, and the pastor is overtaxed. The church, moreover, is slow to recognize the principle of the division of labor and to employ a sufficient number of paid officers. Only the pressing importance of work for boys can excuse one for suggesting another duty to the conscientious and overworked pastor. Already too much has been delegated to him alone. Every day his acknowledged obligations outrun his time and strength, and he must choose but a few of the many duties ever pressing to be done. Yet there is no

phase of that larger social and educational conception of the pastor's work that has in it more of promise than his ministry to boys. Whatever else must go, the boy must not be neglected.

To answer this complex demand and the call of boyhood in particular the pastor must be a leader and an organizer. Otherwise, troubles and vicissitudes await him. In every field unused possibilities hasten the day of his departure. Idle persons who should have been led into worthy achievement for Christ and the church fall into critical gossip, and there soon follows another siege perilous for the minister's freight-wracked furniture, another flitting experience for his homeless children, another proof of his wife's heroic love, and another scar on his own bewildered heart.

It is, indeed, difficult for the pastor to adopt a policy commensurate with modern demands. He should lead, but on the other hand a very legitimate fear of being discredited through failure deters him; traditional methods hold the field; peace at any price and pleasurable satisfaction play a large part in church affairs; the adult, whose character is already formed, receives disproportionate attention; money for purposes of experimentation in church work is hard to get; everything points to moderation and the beaten path; and the way of the church is too often the way of least resistance. Small wonder if the minister sometimes capitulates to things as they are and resigns himself to the ecclesiastical treadmill. It is with the hope of encouraging some to defy such a fate and more specifically to enlist them in work for boys that these articles are written. For it requires courage to be governed by the facts as they confront the intelligent pastor, to direct one's effort where it is most needed and where it will, in the long run, produce the greatest and best results. To be sure, the adult needs the ministry of teaching, inspiration, correction, and comfort to fit him for daily living; but, as matters now stand, the chief significance of the adult lies in the use that can be made of him in winning the next generation for Christ. In so far as the adult membership may contribute to this it may lay claim to the best that the minister has. In so far as it regards his ministry as a means of personal pleasure, gratification, and religious luxury it is both an insult to him and an offense to his Master.

A successful ministry to boys, whether by the pastor himself or by those whom he shall inspire and guide, is fundamental in good pastoral work. Boys now at the age of twelve or fifteen will, in a score of years, manage the affairs of the world. All that has been accomplished—the inventions, the wealth, the experience in education and government, the vast industrial and commercial systems, the administration of justice, the concerns of religion—all will pass into their control; and they who, with the help of the girls of today, must administer the world's affairs, are, or may be, in our hands now when their ideals are nascent and their whole natures in flux. Boys' work, then, is not providing harmless amusement for a few troublesome youngsters; it is the natural way of capturing the modern world for Jesus Christ. It lays hold of life in the making, it creates the masters of tomorrow; and may pre-empt for the Kingdom of God the varied activities and startling conquests of our titanic age. Think of the great relay of untamed and unharnessed vigor, a new nation exultant in hope, undaunted as yet by the experiences that have halted the passing generation: what may they not accomplish? As significant as the awakening of China should the awakening of this new nation be to us. In each case the call for leadership is imperative, and the best ability is none too good. Dabblers and incompetent persons will work only havoc, whether in the Celestial Empire or in the equally potent Kingdom of Boyhood. The bookworm, of course, is unfit even if he could hear the call, and the nervous wreck is doomed even if he should hear it; but the fit man who hears and heeds may prevent no small amount of delinquency and misery, and may deliver many from moral and social insolvency.

If a minister can do this work even indirectly he is happy, but if he can do it directly by virtue of his wholesome character, his genuine knowledge and love of boys, his athletic skill, and his unabated zest for life, his lot is above that of kings and his reward above all earthly riches.

Then, too, it is not alone the potential value of boys for the Kingdom of God, and what the minister may do for them; but what may they not do for him? How fatal is the boy collective to all artificiality, sanctimony, weakness, make-believe, and jointless dig-

nity and how prone is the ministry to these psychological and semi-physical pests! For owing to the demands of the pulpit and of private and social intercourse, the minister finds it necessary to talk more than most men. He must also theorize extensively because of the very nature of theological discipline. Moreover, he is occupied particularly with those affairs of the inner life which are as intangible as they are important. His relation with people is largely a Sunday relation, or at any rate a religious one, and he meets them on the pacific side. Very naturally they reveal to him their best selves, and, true to Christian charity and training, he sees the best in everyone. If the women of his parish receive more than their proper share of attention the situation is proportionately worse. It follows that the minister needs the most wholesome contact with stern reality in order to offset the subtle drift toward a remote, theoretical, or sentimental world. In this respect commercial life is more favorable to naturalness and virility; while a fair amount of manual labor is conducive to sanity, mental poise, and sound judgment as to the facts of life. The minister must have an elemental knowledge of and respect for objective reality; and he must know human nature.

Now among all the broad and rich human contacts that can put the minister in touch with vital realities there is none so electric, so near to revelation as the boy. Collectively he is frank to the point of cruelty, and as elemental as a savage. Confronted alone and by the minister, who is not as yet his chum, he reveals nothing but the minister's helplessness. Taken in company with his companions and in his plays he is a veritable searchlight laying bare those manly and ante-professional qualities which must underlie an efficient ministry. Later life, indeed, wears the mask, praises dry sermons, smiles when bored, and takes careful precautions against spontaneity and the indiscretions of unvarnished truth; but the boy among his fellows and on his own ground represents the normal and unfettered reaction of the human heart to a given personality. The minister may be profoundly benefited by knowing and heeding the frank estimate of a "bunch" of boys. They are the advance agents of the final judgment; they will find the essential man. May it not be with him as with Kipling's Tomlin-

son, who, under the examination of both "Peter" and the "little devils," was unable to qualify for admission either to heaven or hell:

> And back they came with the tattered Thing, as children after play,
> And they said: "The soul that he got from God he has bartered clean away.
> We have threshed a stook of print and book, and winnowed a chattering wind
> And many a soul wherefrom he stole, but his we cannot find:
> We have handled him, we have dandled him, we have seared him to the bone,
> And sure if tooth and nail show truth he has no soul of his own."

Fortunately, however, ministerial professionalism is on the wane. Protestantism, in its more democratic forms, rates the man more and the office less, and present-day tests of practical efficiency are adverse to empty titles and pious assumption. To be "Reverend" means such character and deeds as compel *reverence* and not the mere "laying on of hands." Work with boys discovers this basis, for there is no place for the holy tone in such work, nor for the strained and vapid quotation of Scripture, no place for excessively feminine virtues, nor for the professional hand-shake and the habitual inquiry after the family's health. In a very real sense many a minister can be saved by the boys; he can be saved from that invidious classification of adult society into "men, women, and ministers" which is credited to the sharp insight of George Eliot.

Then, too, the minister is in need of a touch of humor in his work. The sadness of human failure and loss, the insuperable difficulties of his task, the combined woes of his parish, the decorum and seriousness of pulpit work—all operate to dry up the healthy spring of humor that bubbled up and overran in his boyhood days. What health there is in a laugh, what good-natured endurance in the man whose humor enables him to "side-step" disastrous and unnecessary encounters and to love people none the less, even when they provoke inward merriment. The boys' pastor will certainly take life seriously, but he cannot take it somberly. Somewhere in his kind, honest eye there is a glimmer, a blessed survival of his own boyhood.

So, being ministered to by the comradeship of boys, he retains his sense of fun, fights on in good humor, detects and saves himself on the verge of pious caricature and solemn pathos; knows how to meet important committees on microscopic reforms as well as self-appointed theological inquisitors and all the insistent cranks that waylay a busy pastor. Life cannot grow stale; and by letting the boys lead him forth by the streams of living water and into the whispering woods he catches again the wild charm of that all-possible past: the smell of the campfire, the joyous freedom and good health of God's great out-of-doors. Genius and success in life depend largely upon retaining the boyish quality of enthusiastic abandon to one's cause, the hearty release of one's entire energy in a given pursuit, and the conviction that the world is ever new and all things possible. The thing in men that defies failure is the original boy, and "no man is really a man who has lost out of him all the boy."

The boy may also be a very practical helper in the pastor's work. In every community there are some homes in which the pastor finds it almost impossible to create a welcome for himself. Misconceptions of long standing, anti-church sentiments, old grievances block the way. But if in such a home there is a boy whose loyalty the pastor has won through association in the boys' club, at play, in camp—anywhere and anyhow—his eager hand will open both home and parental hearts to the wholesome friendship and kindly counsel of the minister of Christ. When the boy's welfare is at stake how many prejudices fade away! The reliable sentiment of fathers and mothers dictates that he who takes time to know and help their boy is of all persons a guest to be welcomed and honored, and withal, a practical interpreter of Christianity. The pastor whose advance agent is a boy has gracious passport into the homes where he is most needed. He has a friend at court. His cause is almost won before he has uttered one syllable of a formal plea.

Further, it must be apparent to all intelligent observers that the churches in most communities are in need of a more visible social sanction for their existence. In the thought of many they are expensive and over-numerous institutions detached from the actual community life and needs. Boys' work constitutes one

visible strand of connection with the live needs of the neighborhood; and, human nature being what it is, this tangible ministry is essential to the formation of a just popular estimate of the church and the ministry. Talk is easy and the market is always overstocked. The shortage is in deeds, and the doubtful community is saying to the minister, "What do you do?" It is well if among other things of almost equal importance he can reply, "We are saving your boys from vice and low ideals, from broken health and ruined or useless lives, by providing for wholesome self-expression under clean and inspiring auspices. The Corban of false sanctity has been removed; our plant and our men are here to promote human welfare in every legitimate way." Boys' work affords a concrete social sanction that has in it a wealth of sentiment and far-reaching implications.

Closely allied with this is the help that the boy renders as an advertiser. The boy is a tremendous promoter of his uppermost interest; and, while boys' work must not be exploited for cheap and unworthy advertising purposes but solely for the good of the boy himself, the fact remains that the boy is an enterprising publicity bureau. The minister who gives the boy his due of love, service, and friendship will unwittingly secure more and better publicity than his more scholastic and less human brother. In the home and at school, here, there, and everywhere, these unrivaled enthusiasts sound the praises of the institution and the man. Others of their own kind are interested and reluctant adults are finally drawn into the current. The man or church that is doing a real work for boys is as a city set on a hill.

The pastor needs the boys because his task is to enlist and train the Christians and churchmen of the future. These should be more efficient and devoted than those of the present, and should reckon among their dearest memories the early joyous associations formed within the church. Many thoughtful ministers are perplexed by the alienation of wage-earners from the church; but what could not be accomplished in the betterment of this condition if for one generation the churches would bend their utmost devotion and wisdom to maintaining institutions that would be worth while for all the boys of the community? A boy genuinely

interested and properly treated is not going to turn his back upon the institution or the man who has given him the most wholesome enjoyment and the deepest impressions of his life. The reason why the church does not get and hold the boy of the wage-earner, or any other boy, is because it stupidly ignores him, his primary interests, and his essential nature; or goes to the extreme bother of making itself an insufferable bore.

The reflex influence of boys' work upon the church herself should not be ignored. Here is a great plant moldering away almost in silence. Not to mention the auditorium, even the Sunday-school quarters and lecture-room are very little used, and this in communities trained to sharp economic insight and insisting already that the public-school buildings be made to serve the people both day and night and in social as well as educational lines. The basement is perhaps the most vulnerable point in the armor of exclusive sanctity that incases the church. Here, if anywhere, organized church work for boys may be tolerated. Whenever it is, lights begin to shine from the basement window several evenings a week, a noisy enthusiasm echoes through the ghostly spaces above, in a literal and figurative sense cobwebs are brushed away. The stir is soon felt by the whole church. A sense of usefulness and self-confidence begins to possess the minds of the members. Things are doing; and the dignity and desirability of having some part in an institution where things are doing inspires the members and attracts non-members.

It will be a sad day for the pastor and the church when they agree to delegate to any other institution all organized work for boys and especially those features which the boys themselves most enjoy. The ideal ministry to boyhood must not be centralized away from the church nor taken altogether out of the hands of the pastor. There is no place where the work can be done in a more personal way, and with less danger of subordinating the interests of the individual boy to mammoth institutional machinery and ambition, than in the church. The numerous small groups in the multitude of churches afford unequaled opportunity for intimate friendship, which was pre-eminently the method of Jesus, and the full play of a man's influence upon boy character.

The pastor who abdicates, and whose church is but a foraging ground for other institutions which present a magnificent exhibit of social service, may, indeed, be a good man, but he is canceling the charter of the church of tomorrow. It is at best a close question as to how the church will emerge from her present probation, and the pastor should be wise enough to reckon with the estimate in which the community and the boy hold him and the organization that he serves. And if he wants business men of the future who will respect and support the church, laboring men who will love and attend the church, professional men who will believe in and serve an efficient church, he must get the boys who are to be business men, wage-earners, and professional men, and he must hold them.

If he is concerned that there should be strong, capable men to take up the burden of church leadership in the future let him create such leadership in his own spiritual image from the plastic idealism of boyhood. Let the hero-worship age, without a word of compulsion or advice, make its choice with him present as a sample of what the minister can be, and tomorrow there will be no lack of virile high-class men in pulpit and parish. As a rule the ideals that carry men into the ministry are born, not in later youth nor in maturity, but in the period covered by the early high-school years; and the future leadership of the church is secure if the right kind of ministers mingle with boys of that age on terms of unaffected friendship and wholesome community of interest.

Then too there are the riches of memory and gratitude that bulk so large in a true pastor's reward. If in the years to come the minister wishes to warm his heart in the glow of happy memories and undying gratitude, let him invest his present energy in the service of boys. If the minister could but realize the vast significance of such work, if he could feel the lure of those untold values so as to have, in a legitimate way, the thrill that gamblers feel, if he could but know that he is swinging incipient forces of commanding personality into their orbits, directing destiny for the individual, predetermining for righteousness great decisions of the future, laying hold of the very kingdoms of this world for Christ, he surely would never again bemean himself in his own thought nor discount his peerless calling.

To be sure, there are certain satisfactions that a minister may lose all too quickly in these days. The spell of his eloquence may soon pass; the undivided love of all the people is no permanent tenure of him who speaks the truth even in love; speedy dissatisfaction and unbridled criticism are, alas, too often the practice of church democracy; but that man who has won the love of boys has thrown about himself a bodyguard whose loyalty will outmatch every foe.

In the hour of reaction from intense and unrewarded toil the empty chambers of the preacher's soul may echo in bitterness the harsh misanthropy of a scheming world. Then it is that he needs the boys, the undismayed defenders of his faith. Let him name their names until the ague goes out of his heart and the warm compassion of the Man of Galilee returns. To be a hero and an ideal in the estimate of anyone is indeed a great call to the best that is in us; and when the minister, in the dark day or the bright, hears the acclaim of his bodyguard let him believe that it is the call of God to manhood that has the triple strength of faith, hope, and love.

All of this and much more they surely can and will do for him, and if the pastor who thinks that he has no field or who is getting a bit weary or professional in the routine ministry to unromantic middle life could but behold within his parish, however small, this very essence of vital reality, this allurement of unbounded possibility, this challenge of a lively paganism, and this greatest single opportunity to bring in the Kingdom of God, he would, in the very discovery of the boy and his significance, re-create himself into a more useful, happy, and genuine man. Is it not better to find new values in the old field than to pursue superficial values in a succession of new fields?

THE METHODS OF REFORMATION INTERPRETERS OF THE BIBLE

PRESERVED SMITH, PH.D.
Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

The prevalent idea that the Reformation was, above all things, a change in men's attitude toward the Bible, is, like most popular conceptions, roughly correct. Stated too broadly, indeed, the proposition, recently made by a historian of German literature, that "Luther substituted bibliolatry for ecclesiolatry," becomes a caricature of the exact truth. Nevertheless it is indisputable that one very important aspect of the Lutheran revolt is the change in the way in which the Reformers regarded Holy Scripture and in their methods of interpretation.

For five hundred years before that time the schoolmen had been busy weaving around the letter of the Bible a mass of exegesis which has never been equaled for ignorant complexity and barren ingenuity. Entirely destitute of historic imagination or information, even of the necessary grammatical and linguistic knowledge, they twisted the text into a large variety of allegorical meanings. Nicholas de Lyra, one of the most sensible of them, thought that each word should be expounded in four several senses: the literal, the moral, the allegoric, and the anagogic.[1]

A new point of view was bound to come with the revival of the enthusiasm for the classics and especially for Greek. The scholars of the Renaissance recoiled in horror from the barren subtleties of the scholastics, whom they ridiculed in every possible way. One of the first to apply the new learning to the exegesis of Scripture was Lorenzo Valla, an original and acute but by no means reverent scholar of the early fifteenth century. His chief delight was to point out the absurdities of the monkish theologians. Having

[1] "Littera gesta docet, quod credas allegoria,
Moralis quod agas, quo tendis anagogia."

given a hard blow to the temporal power of the papacy in exposing the *Donation of Constantine* as a forgery, he determined to do the same for the current theology by pointing out the numerous inaccuracies in the Latin Vulgate, then always considered, as it was later officially declared to be, the authentic form of the Scriptures. With three Greek and three Latin manuscripts in hand, Valla easily showed how many mistakes had been made by the translators[2] and demonstrated, to his own satisfaction at least, that they knew neither Greek nor good Latin, nor history, nor even theology. In many points he corrected both the readings and the style of the work.

Valla's *Notes* were in advance of the time, and remained for many years almost unnoticed, until they came into the hands of a greater scholar, Desiderius Erasmus, the precursor of the Reformation. Erasmus found the manuscript in the Abbey of Parc, near Louvain, and thought it so much superior to Lyra and the old interpreters, that, though not without some qualms on account of the bad reputation of the author for impiety, he at once edited it (1505). It may have been this work that turned his attention to the need of a fresh translation of the New Testament, or it may have been the influence of his friend Colet, an eager student of the Bible, that decided him to perform this task. He completed it during the year he spent in England (1505–6), but laid aside the work during his visit to Italy. After his return (1509) he endeavored to get the work published, but was discouraged by a high ecclesiastic, and it was not until 1519, when he brought out a second edition of the New Testament, that he ventured to insert his own version.[3] In the first edition, 1516, he used a translation differing but slightly from the Vulgate, and made his very substantial corrections and suggestions in the *Notes* (*Annotationes*) which were published, not, as later, at the foot of the text, but in a separate volume.

The appearance of the *Novum instrumentum*, as Erasmus called it, in March, 1516, marks an era in the interpretation of the Bible.

[2] Jerome merely revised a previous version.

[3] J. Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments* (1902); P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi* (Oxford, 1906 ff.), II, 164 ff.; 181 ff. I have used, in the British Museum, all the early editions of the Greek Testament.

The immense stimulus which it gave is evinced not only by the many sharp attacks made on the editor by the conservatives, but by the immediate change it caused in the methods of the reformers. In the cases of Luther, Zwingli, Carlstadt, and others, we can mark the exact point at which they made the acquaintance of the new edition, and note its powerful operation on their minds. The text has, indeed, been much improved by the labors of Westcott, Tischendorf, and a host of other critics, and Erasmus has been criticized for having used few and poor manuscripts, and for certain errors. The best codex he had, that lent him by Reuchlin, was not older than the twelfth century, though he himself thought that it dated from the Apostolic Age. But while in many details he was at fault, he must be given the high praise of having been the first who actually tried, on any scientific principles whatever, to restore the primitive text. He not only collated authorities, but corrected them by his very wide reading in the early Fathers, and with the help of Oecolampadius by comparing the citations from the Old Testament with the original Hebrew. He even ventured to infer some corruptions when authorities agreed, and some of his conjectural emendations are excellent. Moreover he was fearless in carrying out his convictions. He honestly noted that the passage about the woman taken in adultery (John 7:53—8:11) and the last verses of Mark (16:9–20) are lacking in the best authorities; and, finding that the statement about the heavenly witnesses (I John 5:7) was not included in any of his codices, he omitted it. For this step he was violently attacked on many sides, and finally restored the verse in the third edition (1522) on being shown that one Greek manuscript did contain it.

Though his textual criticism is the most abiding portion of his work, to contemporaries his translation and notes proved the most stimulating. How far from the old scholastic spiderwebs are his short, pointed comments! One or two examples may be given. The Vulgate translated μετανοεῖτε (Matt. 3:2) "penitentiam agite," which, owing to the peculiarity of Latin in having only one word for penance and penitence, might mean either "Repent ye," or "Do penance," and was taken in the latter sense by the majority of ecclesiastics. Erasmus translates "Resipiscite," and gives

a concise but sufficient explanation of the true force of the Greek word. Luther said that this was what first taught him the meaning of repentance. He embodied the thought in the first of his *Ninety-five Theses*, and more fully in his *Resolutions* (1518), and in his German translation rendered the words, "Bessert euch." Again, in a note to John 1:1, Erasmus explains the meaning of λόγος, which he prefers to render *sermo* and not, as the Vulgate, *verbum*. Commenting on Rom. 1:17 ("The just shall live by his faith") Erasmus observes that Jerome, in Habakkuk, read: "The just shall live by my faith," but disagrees with him, and finds the Pauline thought in the traditional text.

Erasmus' criticisms were, however, far from being purely grammatical. Many a trenchant word is spoken against the "new Judaism," or formalism, and against ecclesiastical abuses. The words of Jesus and Paul on fasting, and that favorite passage of the monks, that some have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, furnish him with texts for sermons against the evils within the church. He endeavors also to give some introduction to the epistles, summing up their arguments, and discussing the canonicity of doubtful books. The ideas which are merely sketched in the notes were later expanded in the *Paraphrases* to every book of the New Testament except Revelation. These enjoyed so high a reputation that, in 1547, an order was given that they be placed, along with the English Bible, in every church in England.

Important as it was, Erasmus' work never attained the scope and power of that of his contemporary, Martin Luther, in this as in most things at once the leader and the exponent of his age. The story is well known of his finding the Bible during his last student days at Erfurt (1505) and reading it until the lecture bell called him away. During the next seven years in the monastery he read it a good deal, but it was not until he began to lecture on it in 1512 that a strict and fruitful study of it began. He first took up some of the Psalms, selecting those which appealed to him most strongly on emotional grounds. His lectures, fortunately preserved, show that he used for his text and as an authority the recent edition by the French humanist reformer Le Fèvre d'Étaples. The old scho-

lastic interpreters also had some influence with him, but his paramount authority is St. Augustine. The lectures are permeated with the subjective element; the teacher, having just come through a period of anguish and doubt, is trying to give others the light and help he has attained. But withal he is somewhat timid; the old forms are followed a bit stiffly.

It was in his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, which he next gave (1515–16), that he really found himself.[4] This great human document, of incalculable importance to the student of Luther's development and theology, is interesting for our present purpose as illustrating his exegetical methods. For the first part of the course he again follows Le Fèvre, but when he reached the ninth chapter, Erasmus' New Testament came out and at once took the leading place among his authorities. Not that he follows his predecessors blindly, for he shows great independence and critical acumen. The work is, from a scientific standpoint, a valuable contribution to the study of Paul's thought. There is, it is true, a relic of mediaevalism in the form, especially in the variety of interpretations given to the same word, and in the occasional use of allegory, but through it shines the modern spirit, the mind instinct with Paul's message, and anxious to impress it on the world. Sufficient attention is given to grammar, but the main thing is the thought, "the kernel of the nut and the marrow of the bones." The lecturer asked himself first what Paul said to his own contemporaries; but secondly, and this was more important, what had Paul to say to the sixteenth century? The lectures are full of allusions, and very free ones, to the great men of the time, and many a sharp word against indulgences, fasting, pilgrimages, and spiritual wickedness in high places remind the reader that Luther was already a reformer. His manner of lecturing was exemplary; he sought in every way in his power, by anecdote, by illustration, by careful summing up, and apt translation,[5] to impress the meaning on his hearers.

The central idea of the Epistle was, to him, justification by

[4] This work, long supposed to be lost, was "found" recently in the show cases of the Berlin Royal Library, and was edited with exemplary care by Dr. J. Ficker, in 1908. I have had the privilege of reading a portion of it in the original manuscript.

[5] "*Tapfere Verdeutschung.*" The lectures were, of course, given in Latin.

faith, in connection with which he expounded his other fundamental doctrines, resting on Paul; those, namely, of predestination and election, of the difference between the law and the Gospel, and of the necessity of continual repentance, for "we are partly sinners, partly just, nothing if not penitent, for repentance is the mean between unrighteousness and justification." Throughout the whole we can still follow the struggles in his own soul, the trace of doubt about his own salvation, and his usually firm faith. Above all we see that while the scientific side of the exegesis is by no means slighted, it is the practical and moral which is of real weight.

Luther continued lecturing on the Bible throughout life. His commentaries, interesting and important as they are, need not detain us further, for they do not contain his best work in the interpretation of the Bible. This is found in his translation. He put his whole heart into this, for he longed to do something for the whole people. He expressed this desire in a little-known letter of 1520.[6] "I am writing a verbose commentary on the Psalms," he says, "and have begun to repent of doing so, for such work is the food of the perfect, and does not appeal to the common people nor capture many souls." On the quiet Wartburg, therefore, he began work on the German Bible, which for more than twenty years was his constant occupation. The New Testament was published in September, 1522, with an introduction to the whole work and introductions to the various books, by Luther; and a description of the Holy Land, by Melanchthon. Work on the Old Testament was begun at once; the version being published in parts, the last of them in 1532. A revision was undertaken a little later, to which the Reformer devoted much of his best thought till his death.

Though in point of scholarship Luther's version was far superior to those of his predecessors, of which there were several, yet a rigid examination of his principles shows that they were not truly scientific, but were warped by apologetic considerations. In the protocols for the revision he laid down the rule that when a sentence in the Old Testament did not agree with the New Testament, the vowel points should be changed, regardless of authority, with

[6] To Gerard Lystrius, July 30. First published by Rogge, in *Archief voor Nederlandsch Kerkgeschiedenis*, VII, ii, 204 (1898).

the object of making the sense conform to the New Testament, and when a sentence was found not susceptible of this treatment, and repugnant to the rest of Scripture, that it should be eliminated as a rabbinical insertion. How far Luther really acted on these principles I have been unable to determine, but some of his alterations astonished his learned colleagues, who, as Luther naïvely remarks, "were sometimes so surprised that they said they never would have thought of that their whole life long."

The translation of the New Testament also suffered by an attempt to make it exegetical, the extreme instance being the insertion of the word "alone" to bring out the Pauline thought in Rom. 3:28 ("We therefore conclude that a man is justified by faith [alone]"). The Reformer was sharply criticized for this and defended himself in a rather angry *Letter on Translation*. "It is my New Testament and my version," he burst out, "and I will not let the papists judge it. If the word 'alone' is not found in the Latin and Greek, yet the passage has that meaning and must be so rendered to make it clear and strong in German."

Much of Luther's best thought on the Bible is contained in his introductions. The most striking quality of his criticism is its freedom—the more remarkable because of his insistence, in the book *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, in the *Unfree Will*, and elsewhere, that the whole of Scripture is plenarily inspired, is inerrant, and is consistent. Against Erasmus especially he makes the point that where all is dictated by the Holy Spirit there can be no contradiction and no doubt whatever. Again in 1530 he says: "Let no one think that he can master the faith by reason. . . . . What Christ says must be true, whether I or any other man can understand it." But surely no man with so high an opinion of the Bible as a whole ever criticized the different parts with such trenchant discrimination. "Romans," he says, "is the true kernel of the New Testament, the clearest of all gospels, worthy that a Christian man should not only learn the words by heart but converse with them daily as food for the soul." Revelation he thinks neither apostolic nor prophetic for it does not teach Christ. The Books of Kings are a hundred thousand paces ahead of Chronicles and more to be believed. It would be better if the Book of

Esther had never been written. Ecclesiastes rides in neither boots nor spurs but stumbles along in socks, "as I did when I was in the the cloister." The Epistle of James, as is well known, was especially uncongenial to him. In the Preface to the edition of 1522 he states that he considers it a good book, though not apostolic, for it contradicts Paul's doctrine of faith and works. But in the Preface to the New Testament of 1545, after commending the Gospel and First Epistle of John, the Epistles of Paul, and the First Epistle of Peter, he says that compared to them the Epistle of James is a letter of straw. Even this is much milder than the things he said about it in his *Table Talk:*

> Many sweat to reconcile St. Paul and St. James, as does Melanchthon in his *Apology*, but in vain. "Faith justifies" and "faith does not justify" contradict each other flatly. If any one can harmonize them I will give him my doctor's hood and let him call me a fool.
>
> Let us banish this Epistle from the university for it is worthless. It has no syllable about Christ, not even naming him except once at the beginning. I think it was written by a Jew who had heard of the Christians but not joined them. He had learned that the Christians insisted strongly on faith in Christ, and so he said to himself: "Well, you must take issue with them and speak only of works," and so he does. He says not a word of the passion and resurrection of Christ, the text of all the other apostles. Moreover he has no order nor method. He speaks now of clothes, now of wrath, jumping from one topic to another. He has this simile: "For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also." Mary, mother of God! He compares faith to the body when it should rather be compared to the soul! The ancients saw all this and did not consider the epistle canonical.[7]

Luther's marginal notes in one of his own Bibles are equally strong.[8] To Jas. 1:6 ("But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering") he remarks: "That is the only good place in the whole epistle." On 1:21 ("Receive with meekness the engrafted word") he writes: "Others engrafted it, not this James." Over against 2:24 ("Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, not by faith only") he dares to put: "That is false."

[7] E. Kroker, *Luthers Tischreden in der mathesischen Sammlung* (Leipzig, 1903). Carlstadt (see his life by H. Barge, 1905, Vol. I, p. 197) says that Luther considered the Epistle of James a forgery of St. Jerome. This is groundless and contradictory to Luther's own words.

[8] Published by Walch, *Luther's Werke* (Halle, 1742), IX, 1774 ff.

Melanchthon, the young disciple whom Luther loved, was, in his exegesis as in other things, the systematizer of his greater friend's original thought. He first began lecturing on the Bible in 1519, and with such success that the older man thought it was the best course given in a thousand years. In the *Loci Communes*, in the *De ecclesia*, and elsewhere, Melanchthon expressed the Protestant doctrine of the infallibility of Scripture. Being more logical than Luther he was therefore unable to pick and choose passages and books. In fact as well as in theory he placed the truth of Scripture above reason, saying, in his *Commentary on Colossians*, that spiritual things can only be understood by the direct help of the Spirit. His principles of interpretation were laid down by himself in the often quoted sentence: "The theologian must be first a grammarian, then a logician, and finally a witness." In his exegetical work, however, grammar takes a very subordinate place, the greater part being devoted to elucidation of the substance, including the antiquities, the philosophy, and the theology, and last but not least the practical moral application. Melanchthon saw that a proper linguistic equipment, though essential to the understanding of the text, was only a means to an end, worthless in itself.

While these two famous friends were lecturing at Wittenberg a separate reform movement was growing up in Switzerland. So conscious was its leader, Ulrich Zwingli, of the independence of his calling that he purposely abstained from reading the works of Luther lest it might be said that he had borrowed something from him. He had no such feeling about the idol of his youth, Erasmus, from whom he took many of his ideas. The copy of the New Testament of 1516 which he bought and annotated with his own hand shows that to him, as to other earnest men, its publication was an epoch-making event. Besides these notes he has left some exegetical works. To him also the Bible was the supreme book, to be preferred especially to ecclesiastical tradition. Yet he probably had more aloofness in his view of it than had his contemporaries, at least he was less under the dominion of single texts. The best example of this is his exegesis of the words: "This is my body," (Matt. 26:26), which, in opposition to Luther, he took figuratively.

The German judged reason by the Bible; the Swiss explained the Bible by reason; Zwingli proved that it was impossible that Christ's body could be in the bread and therefore that the text must mean something else; Luther pointed to the text, and said that it must be literally true whether comprehensible or not.

Zwingli's theology emphasized natural religion; that of his compatriot Calvin, revelation. Calvin was the real founder of the extreme doctrine of the inerrancy of Scripture. His cold logic gathered up the great thoughts of the Wittenberg Reformer, and, even more than Melanchthon, molded them into a rigid system. Seeing the implication of their words, he first made the infallibility of the Bible the cornerstone of the whole system. The Word, he once said, flowed from the mouth of God himself (*ab ipsissimo Dei ore*). Though the *Institutes* has eclipsed the fame of his other writings, his exegetical work, comprising commentaries on almost every book of the Bible, is hardly less important in the history of Protestantism. These commentaries, in their historical and literary insight, and especially in their psychological understanding of the writer's personality, are the ripest fruit of early Protestant interpretation. Falling short of Luther in originality, and in that intense personal interest with which the older man invested all his work, Calvin surpasses him in the peculiar qualities of the great commentator. In bringing out the whole meaning of the text from the philological, the historical, and the practically edifying points of view, he is unrivaled.

Though much of interest might be gathered from the extant commentaries of lesser men, of Colet, or Le Fèvre, or Lang, or Carlstadt, or Schwenckfeld, the work of the five Reformers just reviewed may stand as typical of the tendencies and methods of their age. In the particular field of biblical exegesis, as in so much of subsequent thought, the seeds of the distinctively modern were sowed in the sixteenth century. The scholars of that age freed themselves from the intolerable indirectness of the schoolmen, and began to pay attention to the exact, literal meaning of the Bible. They first felt the need of a scholarly basis for interpretation, and first supplied it. The Reformers were the forerunners of the modern historical school. The mediaeval ecclesiastics had felt no difficulty

in making the Virgin Mary a nun and supplying Abraham with a knowledge of Aristotle. Erasmus and Melanchthon *began*, at least, to change all this; though with less perfect knowledge than their successors they tried with equal zeal to ascertain the actual conditions under which the books of the Bible were written.

Another great quality in their interpretation of the Bible was their willingness to let it interpret itself. They first put it, with undoubting confidence, before the people. Luther often wished that all the commentaries, including his own, would perish, so that men might have nothing to read but the plain word of God, for, said he, the Bible explains itself better than any gloss. It is notable, too, that the greatest of the Reformers was the boldest in subjecting the Bible to the test of his private reason; Martin Luther was one of the freest, as well as one of the earliest, of all higher critics.

Finally, it is plain that to the Reformers, as to all deeply spiritual Christians, the most important thing in interpreting the Bible was to get its message to their own souls. The practical and moral is the burden of their exegesis. All else was but accessory; theology was to them the science of saving souls; if it failed in that it missed everything.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

III. THE FUTURE LIFE IN THE TEACHING OF PAUL—*Continued*

PROFESSOR ERNEST F. SCOTT, D.D.
Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

In view of certain opinions which had become prevalent in the church at Corinth, Paul felt himself compelled to speak fully and explicitly on the subject of the future life (I Cor., chap. 15; II Cor. 4:16—5:9). The precise nature of these erroneous opinions cannot be ascertained; but they can hardly have involved a positive denial of the existence after death. An attitude of this kind would have been utterly incompatible with any profession of Christian faith. We may conjecture, rather, that the criticisms were directed against the doctrine of the Resurrection, as it had been proclaimed by Paul, in accordance with the general teaching of the early church. The purpose of his argument is to defend this doctrine and to remove the difficulties which seemed to render it untenable. He is content merely to indicate, by way of preface, his grounds for the belief in immortality, and then proceeds to his main contention that the future life, like the present, will have a body as its organism.

It is not difficult to understand why this doctrine had been called in question by the rationalists at Corinth. To the Greek mind the idea of a bodily resurrection was little else than a contradiction in terms. It had been assumed by all the Greek thinkers that the material body was at best a prison, in which the soul found itself excluded from the true life and brought into subjection to the world of change. The separation of soul and body was the first condition of immortality; and their reunion could only mark a new commencement of the dreary journey through passion and decay to death. Paul himself had so far accepted the postulates of Greek thought that he seemed to allow no room for a resurrection. He saw in the flesh the stronghold of sin, the principle of corruption in our nature. The redemption as he

conceived it had for its object a deliverance from all earthly bondage that we might become heirs of eternal life. But while Paul availed himself of these ideas derived from Greek philosophy, his thought remained rooted in Judaism. As a Pharisee he had learned to identify the future life with the resurrection of the dead, and the two conceptions were still so closely interwoven in his mind that they could not be separated. Those doubts on the resurrection which had been reported to him from Corinth seemed to imply an unbelief as to the very fact of immortality.

In the doctrine which he had taken over from the Pharisaic schools, Paul was only confirmed by his new faith as a Christian. The gospel was founded for him in the historical fact that Christ had risen; and it was inevitable that all his thoughts about the future life should bear the impress of this fact. Christ had risen, the first-born of many brethren. As he had given us the pledge of immortality, so he had exemplified, in his own risen life, that new state of being to which we are destined. It is true that Paul's conception of the resurrection of Jesus appears to differ, in several essential respects, from that which is suggested by the parallel narratives in the gospels. He makes no mention of the empty tomb. He says nothing to indicate that the earthly body of Jesus was reanimated. He records the vision granted to himself on the road to Damascus as if it were similar in kind to the earlier visions. None the less, he is convinced that Jesus rose again in a form that could be visually apprehended. His purpose in enumerating the various appearances is to prove, not merely that the Lord still lives, but that he possesses a body which is capable of manifestation. With such a body the believer will be clothed hereafter. As we have borne the image of the first Adam we shall also bear the image of the heavenly man. Our vile body will be changed and made like unto his glorious body (Phil. 3:21).

In his answer to the Corinthians, then, Paul takes his stand on the fact that Christ has risen; and on the basis of this fact he proceeds to examine the doctrine of the Resurrection, and to show that it is reasonable and necessary. His opponents had taken for granted that the soul, when separated from the body by death, must henceforth exist independently. But Paul reminds them,

by an analogy from nature, that this cannot be assumed. The seed, when it dies and springs to life again, has indeed lost its original body; but only to replace it by another, more suitable to the new conditions of its growth. It may be admitted that our present earthly body cannot ally itself with an immortal life; Paul is as strongly convinced on this point as his Corinthian readers. But he tries to impress upon them that their idea of what constitutes a "body" is far too narrow and inadequate. As we look around us in the universe we find an infinite variety of existences, all of them endowed with their appropriate bodies, although these bodies are utterly different from each other. There are men and beasts and fishes and birds; while above the earth there are sun and moon and stars, which Paul conceives of, after the manner of antiquity, as animated beings with celestial bodies of light. In view of this endless diversity of possible organisms, may we not believe that the soul, when it is separated from the present body, is yet invested with another, which is adapted, like the new body of the seed, to the larger conditions of its risen life? The body in which it now exists is earthly and corruptible; but God is able to prepare for it a heavenly body, exempt from decay and death. At this stage, however, Paul is confronted with a difficulty which to the primitive Christian mind was more than fanciful. It might be conceded that the dead would receive a new and different body; but what of those who would survive until the Lord's coming? In their case, presumably, there would be no dissolution of the present body. They would simply pass over from the lower state into the higher without discarding the vesture of flesh and blood which they had worn on earth. But Paul declares that for them too there must be a resurrection into a new body. When the dead arise at the sound of the last trump the living also will undergo a mysterious change. This earthly body will pass away and give place to another, worthy of participating in the kingdom of God. In this transformation of man's whole being into something incorruptible and eternal, the redemption will be accomplished. Death will be swallowed up in victory.

The more perfect organism in which the new life will realize itself is described by Paul as a "spiritual body" (*σῶμα πνευματικόν*);

and as such is contrasted with the "natural body" (σῶμα ψυχικόν), which is laid in the grave. Behind this conception of the "spiritual body" lies that whole doctrine of the Spirit which occupies such a central place in Paul's theology. He maintained, as we have seen, that through faith in Christ a new supernatural power takes possession of the believer and becomes the principle of his being. He is henceforth a "new creation"—no longer carnal but spiritual. When he speaks, therefore, of a "spiritual body," Paul is thinking of some higher kind of organism which will be fully responsive to the new nature implanted in the believer. Inwardly he has become already a spiritual man, but so long as he remains on earth he is bound to the imperfect body. He groans in it, being burdened (II Cor. 5:4), for he is conscious of the many limitations which it imposes on the higher life within him. But in the future this spiritual life will be united with a spiritual body, adequate to its needs and corresponding with its true nature. Paul elsewhere describes this new organism as a "body of glory," implying that its substance will consist of a heavenly light. It will be similar to the body with which Christ rose from the grave and which had appeared to Paul himself as a great light, "above the brightness of the sun" (Acts 26:13). But perhaps we may read a still more definite meaning into the phrase a "spiritual body." To Paul's concrete mode of thinking the spirit was itself a real essence, a sort of ethereal substance; and he may have conceived the new body as in some manner composed of spirit. Thus it would not only correspond with the higher life, as its appropriate instrument, but would be nothing less than its manifestation in visible form. The "glory" of which the spiritual body consisted would be the direct emanation of the spirit.

Did Paul regard this new body, molded out of another and higher substance, as in any sense identical with the old? It has often been inferred from his analogy of the seed that he thought of the natural body as mysteriously blossoming out into something different yet the same. What was sown in dishonor and weakness is raised in glory—revealing the possibilities that lay hidden in the corruptible body of flesh. But it is easy to infer too much from Paul's analogy. We have no reason for supposing that he arrived,

by some intuition, at our modern idea of the development of seed from within itself according to natural law. What he emphasizes, rather, is the *difference* of the seed that dies in the earth and the beautiful plant which comes in place of it. In this miracle of nature he sees an immediate divine action. "God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed its own body" (I Cor. 15:38). Thus from his illustration of the seed he argues for the probability of an altogether new body, having nothing in common with that which decays and perishes. In his later passage on the subject of the resurrection (II Cor. 5:1 ff.), he seems to conceive of this new body as already existing in heaven, like a house built to receive the pilgrim, or a vesture waiting to be put on when the earthly garment has been destroyed. These expressions are plainly figurative, and ought not to be unduly pressed. The new body, if Paul's conception means anything, is inseparably bound up with the new life, and does not enfold it in some merely external fashion, like a house or a garment. But this much at least may be gathered from the images in question. They make it clear, and are intended to make it clear, that the body which will be ours in the heavenly world is entirely distinct from that which we have borne on earth. The old tabernacle is dissolved in order that we may inherit another, in which the fleshly element has no part. It is strange that Christian theology, almost from the beginning, has so persistently misunderstood the doctrine which Paul was at pains to set forth in the most explicit and emphatic terms. Apologists without number have argued for a literal resurrection. They have sought to demonstrate by subtle and far-fetched theories how the scattered atoms of human dust may again be brought together and reconstituted, so that the body may rise along with the soul. So far as Paul's doctrine is concerned this ingenuity is simply wasted; for his whole exposition, when we read it rightly, is a deliberate protest against the crude and material view of the resurrection. He insists that the body in which the believer will rise again is not the earthly body. This belongs, by its very nature, to the world of corruption, and even those who are alive at the Lord's coming must exchange it for another. The

new life must of necessity be clothed with a new body, different in kind from that which we possess on earth.

We are now in a position to discern the underlying motives of the Pauline doctrine. Historically considered, it was an attempt to combine the Jewish-apocalyptic view of the future life with that of Greek philosophy. To Paul the Hebrew, nurtured on the Old Testament and imbued with the Pharisaic tradition, there could be no true life, now or hereafter, apart from a body. From the fear of being left "naked"—a houseless, disembodied soul—he shrank with his whole being, as from the worst horror of death. But on the other hand, Paul was repelled by the materialism of the Jewish idea of the resurrection. He maintained, as a fundamental principle of his Christian thought, that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption" (I Cor. 15:50). Between the two contradictory views, however, there was a third, which seemed to satisfy alike the traditional and the speculative interest. The soul after death would be united with a body—but with a new and incorrruptible body. For the spiritual life there would be a spiritual organism, harmonious with its own nature.

Yet we do little justice to Paul's conception when we thus explain it historically, as a compromise between two opposite schools of thought. When we examine more deeply we can see that he was guided to this compromise by a profound religious instinct. The idea of immortality as presented by the Greek thinkers was abstract and one-sided. It took account only of the reasoning principle which manifests itself in man, and had no security to offer for a personal existence after death. The Jewish conception, with all its apparent crudity, implied the assertion of a future life in which the individual would not be obliterated. Man was to rise again in his body; he was to enter the world to come as a separate existence, and so continue the life which had begun on earth. Paul was aware that this conception in its literal Jewish form was self-contradictory; but he sought to maintain the truth that lay at the heart of it. He declared that immortality could mean nothing unless the individual sur-

vived; and that there could be no separate life without a separate organism. The new body need not be identical with the old; indeed it must be wholly different before it can take its place in an incorruptible world. But the spiritual life requires a spiritual body, as the earthly life requires an earthly one. In this sense it is impossible to deny the far-reaching and permanent significance of the Pauline doctrine. All later investigation, whether philosophical or scientific, has only confirmed the Apostle's principle that soul and body make up a single life and depend on one another. Soul without body is even more unthinkable to our modern mind than it was to him. If the individual life is to maintain itself after death it must be invested with its own organism —different from that body which it now possesses, yet in some way analogous to it and replacing it. Paul's teaching on the resurrection is beset with many difficulties, and is entangled with ancient beliefs and speculations which have now in great measure lost their meaning. But the main conception which he seeks to emphasize can never be discarded from the Christian doctrine of immortality.

In his whole discussion of the future life Paul concerned himself solely with the destiny of believers. Various attempts have been made to discover a wider application in several of his arguments. It has been inferred, for instance, from the value he sets on the resurrection, that he thought of non-Christians as still surviving, but in a world of disembodied souls, like the Old Testament *Sheol*. There is no real evidence that Paul entertained such a view. If he followed out his own presupposition, logically and consistently, his only conclusion could be that the natural man ceased to exist after death. Those alone who are spiritual have the capacity for life hereafter; and in the case of non-Christians the fleshly nature has never been overcome and transformed by the working of the Spirit. But the truth appears to be that Paul made no endeavor to think out his principles in all their implications. In more than one passage where he has occasion to touch on the fate of the wicked, we find him simply reverting to the current apocalyptic ideas of judgment and retribution. Those who know not God "shall be punished with an everlasting destruction" (II Thess.

1:8). At the Lord's coming "everyone will receive the things done in his body according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (II Cor. 5:10). Apart from a few such references, in which he formally accepts the traditional belief, Paul refrains from all conjecture as to the lot of the wicked; and this attitude of reserve, we can hardly doubt, was deliberately chosen. He desired to lift the idea of the future life out of the region of theory and speculation. His readers were to fix their thoughts, not on the riddles, but on the great certainty that for them as Christians there was an inheritance in the world to come.

But while Paul troubled himself little about mere speculative questions, he was evidently perplexed by one difficulty which had an urgent bearing on the actual life of the church. According to the primitive Christian view the resurrection was to take place on that day in the near future when the Lord returned. A period would intervene during which the dead would be separated from their bodies and so wait on, in some temporary state of being, for their call to the new life. Throughout the discussion in I Cor., chap. 15, Paul seems to accept this popular view. He thinks of the dead as passing into a "sleep"—an intermediate condition of half-unconsciousness—out of which they will be awakened by the trumpets of the Parousia. Then they will arise and be clothed with their bodies of glory and ascend with Christ into the eternal life. In the later discussion, however (II Cor. 5:1–9), Paul apparently gives up this view. He there conceives of the future life as immediately following the present one, so that the believer need not apprehend any interval of "nakedness." The new tabernacle is already waiting to replace that which is dissolved. To be "absent from the body" is to be "present with the Lord." It has been supposed that after the time when the former epistle was written, Paul's thoughts on the resurrection had undergone a change. His conviction that he would himself live to share in the Parousia had grown less assured, and in his shrinking from the ghostly condition of "sleep" which now threatened him, he fell back on the hope that death itself would bring with it the new life.

But the passage contains nothing to indicate that Paul had

consciously changed his views. In any case, only a few months at most had elapsed since the writing of I Cor., and we can hardly believe that in that short time his outlook had become so entirely different. It is more reasonable to assume that in this point of his teaching, as in many others, he wavered between two opinions, or rather held them both, without attempting to reconcile them. On the one hand he acquiesced in the common belief of the early church that the resurrection would be delayed until the Parousia, and that meanwhile the dead would linger in some shadowy underworld. On the other hand he felt, with his deeper Christian instinct, that the life of faith was already the beginning of eternal life. Those who had once given themselves to the Lord could not be divided from him by any dark interval of waiting. "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain" (Phil. 1:21).

We have here the ultimate ground on which Paul rests his hope of immortality. He presents the hope under various forms, and seeks to confirm it and make it more intelligible by means of arguments derived from many sources. But it was bound up, in the last resort, with his faith in Christ. He knew, as a fact of inward experience, that he had risen with Christ into a higher life, of such a nature that it could not be overcome by death. He was conscious, too, that by fellowship with Christ he had drawn near to God and belonged to him forever, so that he had nothing to fear from any change. "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore or die, we are the Lord's" (Rom. 14:8). This confidence is expressed in language of matchless power at the close of the eighth chapter of Romans. The apostle there dwells on Christ's love to him, as revealed in the Cross, and accepts it as his one assurance. "I am persuaded that neither death nor life . . . . shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." In these words which take us to the heart of Paul's personal religion, we can discern the central motive of his whole teaching on immortality.

THE LEPROSY OF THE BIBLE: ITS RELIGIOUS ASPECT

ERNEST L. McEWEN, M.S., M.D.
Instructor in Dermatology, Rush Medical College, Chicago

It is now generally accepted by students of comparative religions that the various great religious systems of today are the products of an evolutionary process; a progression upward, with the crudest religious expression of primitive man as a starting-point. It is known that certain conceptions in the earlier stages of development are common to many types of religion, and that contact of tribe with tribe and nation with nation has done much to spread and modify religious ideas. The religion of Israel is, therefore, to be looked upon as a product of evolution, containing within itself the evidence of its passage upward from lower levels. That nation, in the course of the centuries of its existence, came in touch with many and diverse peoples—the Canaanites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Persians—from each of whom something was contributed to the sum total of Israel's religious institutions. It is not exceptional, therefore, that the religion of this people should exhibit features in common with contemporaneous and preceding religious beliefs and practices of other nations.

If we examine the various religious systems of the Semites, of whom the Israelites were a branch, we shall find therein embodied an idea or principle, an understanding of which will greatly illuminate our subject. This idea is known as "taboo." It is a survival of the primitive conceptions of uncivilized man; its position in the religion of the Semites is one of prominence and its presence is traceable in every religious system of today. In fact, it has been, and is, a world-idea of universal distribution. The word "taboo" is taken, scarcely modified, from the language of the Polynesians among whom the principle for which it stands found an elaborate development. The original form "tabu" means literally, "strongly marked," and the derivative "taboo" is used to

indicate that which one may not touch or handle without danger to himself. Things "taboo" may be placed in two general classes: those which are holy and those which are unclean. To the former belong such as appertain to the gods and are therefore too sacred for the touch of man; to the latter, such as contain within themselves a malign and dangerous influence which passes to man by contact. An object touched by a thing "taboo" becomes at once "tabooed"; in other words, taboo is transmissible or contagious, and the object infected, whatever it may be, is as potent to convey further taboo as the original source. To remove taboo, purification is necessary, by a change of clothing, by ablution, by sacrifice, by retirement, or other method.

Folklore abounds with instances illustrative of taboo, a few of which may be given. In Tahiti the chief was held sacred; whatever he touched became tabooed and might not be used by the people; he had always to be carried lest his feet render the ground sacred, and he might not enter any house other than his own for the same reason. In Polynesia the sacred places became asylums for fugitives, since these by contact were made taboo, and in some instances thereby became dedicated to the god. Blood, the mother in child-bed, the new-born babe, and the body of the dead have been universally regarded as taboo. The Yuma Indian who kills a man is tabooed one month; the Kaffir is tabooed after battle; the Hottentot is rendered unclean by blood of animals killed in the hunt; the puerperal woman in West Africa renders all things unclean with which she comes in contact; the new-born babe in Mexico may not be placed upon ground during the first day.

These citations, taken for the most part from the usages of savage nations and illustrative of the taboo of holiness and of uncleanness, are curiously paralleled in the Old Testament record. For instance, places of theophany were holy and not to be approached indifferently. The story of the burning bush is an example: Jehovah spoke to Moses from the midst of a bush which burned without being consumed. The latter was curious and turned aside to see. But Jehovah "called unto him out of the midst of the bush and said, 'Moses' and he said 'Here am I' and he said 'Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet for

the place whereon thou standeth is holy ground.'" When the message from Mt. Sinai was given to the people, special injunctions were given to Moses with reference to the holiness of Jehovah. "And the Lord said unto Moses, 'Go down, charge the people lest they break through unto the Lord and many of them perish; and let the priests also who come near the Lord sanctify themselves lest the Lord break forth upon them.'" There are many other illustrative passages.

With Lev., chap. 11, begins a very extensive enumeration of animals which were to be regarded as clean and unclean by the Hebrews; those which might be eaten, and those which might not even be touched without transmission of uncleanness. In chap. 12 the uncleanness of the woman in child-bed is set forth, with directions for her cleansing. Chap. 13 relates to the uncleanness of leprosy in man and in a garment; chap. 14 is devoted to the procedure for rendering clean the leper, and to the description of leprosy in a house; chap. 15 has to do with the uncleanness of issues of the flesh; chap. 16 with sacrifices which were to atone for the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and chap. 17 with the sacredness or uncleanness of blood. A careful consideration of these Levitical laws of the clean and the unclean will show that there exists between the Hebrew conception of and attitude toward the holy and the unclean, and the savage notion of taboo, an analogy so exact in all details as to justify fully the assertion that the laws of the holy and the unclean with the former people were but an expression of the self-same universal principle—taboo. Lev., chap. 13, occupying a central position in the code, instead of being an account of the true disease leprosy, is nothing more than a description of certain abnormal skin conditions which to the Israelites were unclean, not because they were contagious, or filthy, or hideous, but because, in the conception of that people with whom the religious principle of taboo obtained, they possessed certain supernatural qualities which rendered the victims unfit to participate in the worship of Jehovah, with a disability which could be transmitted to others by contact and which demanded ceremonial purification for removal.

What is the bearing of taboo in the leprosy narratives which we

have previously mentioned? The principle is not evident in the story of Moses; the dominating thought there is the demonstration of God's power by a sudden and stroke-like miracle. In the account of Miriam's leprosy the idea of taboo is apparent at two points: in the serious plight of Miriam as one unclean and in the fact that she was barred from the camp seven days. To Moses' prayer to God that she be healed at once the reply was made: "If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? Let her be shut out from the camp seven days and after that let her be brought in again." As a result of her affliction she was rendered taboo for a space of time corresponding to the isolation periods of the Levitical law.

In the story of Naaman, taboo is traceable. The disease with which he was afflicted was apparently not regarded as unclean in in his own country; the reference to his participation in the worship of Rimmon clearly implies that, though a leper, he had been accustomed to enter the temple of the Syrian national god with the king leaning upon his arm. This could not have occurred among the Israelites under the Levitical law, since such a procedure would have rendered the king unclean because of the infectious nature of taboo. The question may be asked: Why is it that Gehazi, who is pronounced forever leprous in the fifth chapter, is represented as talking to the king in the eighth chapter? According to the law, would he not have contaminated his ruler by contact? The answer is that consecutive arrangement of events in the Books of Kings as found today does not argue consecutive occurrence in point of time. The Elisha stories are merely grouped without reference to exact historic date. The point raised does not in any sense vitiate the taboo interpretation of the leprosy of the Israelites.

The taboo element in the story of Uzziah is interesting. It will be noted that the leprosy "rose up in the forehead," and he himself ran from the temple pursued by the priests; which fact would imply that the affliction which had come to him was especially serious. Referring back to the Levitical law, we find that the last condition mentioned as leprous has to do with a "white reddish sore in the forehead." Such a one is "utterly unclean"

because "the plague is in his head." In no other instance is this emphatic construction used with unclean, and we may justly infer that with the Israelites, as with the Maoris of New Zealand, the head was regarded as sacred. If it were touched with leprosy, then the victims were unclean indeed—"utterly" as the law puts it. Hence when the leprosy appeared in his forehead, Uzziah realized that his sin was great enough to call forth a most severe punishment and fled in fear and horror from the temple.

The "garment" and "house" leprosy do not admit of medical explanation. It is extremely improbable that any nation in the nomadic or early agricultural stage of civilization would possess such a knowledge of disease and the means of its conveyance as would be implied in a purely medical interpretation of these terms; that is, that "garment" leprosy and "house" leprosy mean contamination of a garment or house with the contagion of the disease, leprosy. The determination of these conditions is based upon signs which are strikingly similar to those recognized by the priests as indicative of leprosy in man. The differential criteria to be resorted to in doubtful cases are practically the same as in the human form. The garment or house is to be "shut up seven days"; if the plague is seen to have "spread much abroad" it is leprosy. The reference to house leprosy, "If the plague be in the walls of a house with hollow strakes, greenish or reddish, which in sight are lower than the walls," is a curious parallel to the passage referring to human leprosy, "If the plague be in sight deeper than the skin of his flesh." The contagion of leprosy obviously is not something which spreads visibly through the web of a garment, or in the walls of a house, or is "in sight deeper than the walls." An explanation on the basis of taboo is much simpler and far more rational. These forms of "leprosy" were conditions in a garment or house which to the Hebrews appeared identical in nature to eruptive phenomena upon the human skin. The spread of mold fungi in a garment by peripheral extension, or the efflorescence of whitish material, so often seen in walls constructed of brick and mortar, might readily suggest the appearance and mode of extension of certain skin eruptions. Similarity in appearance in the primitive logic of the Hebrews counted for identity, hence for

them the uncleanness of *zaraath* in the skin would also obtain in like-appearing conditions in a garment or house.

The procedure decreed by Levitical law as necessary to cleanse a victim of leprosy is religious and ritualistic rather than medical and hygienic. It is true that with propriety one may place in the latter class certain factors in the process, as the isolation of the victim for brief periods and the injunction to wash the body and clothing with water. The sacrifice of birds and lambs, the use of cedar wood, scarlet, and hyssop, of fine flour and oils, and the elaborate ceremonies performed with these by the priest in the holy place, must be considered as essentially religious in nature and purpose. The similarity in the ceremonial for the cleansing of the leper and for the cleansing of the people of Israel from their sin is easily explicable when we consider the root meaning of *zaraath* "to strike," "to smite." *Zaraath*, as something sent as a punishment for sin, would be to the Hebrews a matter of deep religious concern.

The later Jewish understanding of *zaraath* may be found in the the Talmud. This rabbinical commentary on the Jewish law developed as a written document in the early centuries of the Christian era, but was made up of material which for many generations had been orally extant as the teaching of the great rabbinical expounders of the law. A few extracts, relative to leprosy and its uncleanness, from this great work will suffice to show that the conception of *zaraath* which was taught the people is wholly incompatible with scientific and medical facts.

"Foreigners and sojourning strangers with leprosy [of body or garments] are not unclean. Jewish buyers of garments should inspect them" [lest a leprous garment render them unclean immediately upon passing into their possession].

"Two leprosies in one man are not inspected at once."

"The bridegroom with leprosy is clean for seven days of the wedding feast."

"Skins of sea animals receive no uncleanness in leprosy."

"A round house, a three-cornered house, or a house built on a ship does not receive uncleanness in leprosy."

"There are twenty-four ends of members in man in which there is no uncleanness from quick flesh."

Comment on these citations is scarcely necessary. If a garment having all the essentials of Levitical "uncleanness" only becomes unclean upon passing into the possession of a Jewish follower of the law, then that uncleanness has its basis in the law and not in the condition of the garment. It is a matter of belief, not of leprosy. True leprosy is a unity: there cannot be two leprosies in one individual. But two "unclean" conditions as understood by the Hebrews might be found in one person. If the "bridegroom with leprosy" were unclean from the true disease, a remission of his uncleanness for seven days of the wedding feast would demonstrate conclusively the lack of knowledge on the part of the Hebrews of real leprosy. The exception from uncleanness of ulcerating tips of members of the body *would permit a bona fide leper in the worst stage of infectiousness to pass as clean*, since in certain forms of the disease ulceration of the ends of the fingers and toes, with ultimate partial or complete loss of those members, is the paramount expression of the disease. Obviously the Jews had no real understanding of true leprosy, either as to its essential manifestations in the human body or the means of its conveyance from one to another.

In conclusion, the significance of the "leprosy" of the Hebrew Bible may be set forth in a paragraph as follows:

The word "leprosy" did not refer ever and always to true leprosy, but was rather a generic term covering various sorts of inflammatory skin diseases, which rendered the one afflicted unfit to associate with others, not because his condition was contagious as a disease, but because, by virtue of the belief among the Hebrews in the principle today known as "taboo," it disqualified him for the worship of Jehovah, threatened others by contact with a like disqualification, and required ceremonial procedure for removal.

When this simple, and, we believe, true explanation of biblical leprosy is understood and accepted, a great step will be taken toward the elimination of the irrational lepraphobia of today.

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

A PROFESSIONAL READING COURSE ON JESUS IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

What can be known about Jesus, and what are we to think of him? This question is of vital interest to the world of religious thought, especially in recent times when so much attention has been given to its investigation. In these pages for four successive months, SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, *of the New Testament Department in The University of Chicago, will outline a course of reading on this topic and discuss some of the best and most recent contributions of scholars to it. Questions for consideration should be addressed to the Editors of the* BIBLICAL WORLD; *inquiries concerning books and traveling libraries, to the American Institute of Sacred Literature.*

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

The Professional Reading Courses of the American Institute of Sacred Literature have been prepared in the hope that pastors and students of religious subjects might find hereby suggested the best books on themes of vital interest in their profession. In the course here proposed we are undertaking to introduce our readers to what is probably one of the most important problems of religious thinking today.

No one can read our religious journals without being aware that the methods of critical scholarship which have brought about so many significant changes of opinion in the field of Old Testament study are now being applied to the New Testament. The results of this method of investigating the New Testament are of supreme interest to all Christians, especially in so far as these results are related to our thought of Jesus. In the history of Christian faith, the New Testament accounts of his person and work have usually been accepted without question. Will it be necessary for modern scholars to abandon this traditional custom? Or will it be established more firmly than ever by the results of critical study?

Evidently there is only one way in which the thoughtful reader can arrive at a satisfactory answer to these questions. Mere dogmatic affirmations or denials of the necessity of changing our views have no weight with thinking men. They will desire to examine the data, and

to form their answer in accordance with their estimate of the evidence. The present course is intended to guide the reader into some of the investigations of our day which contribute toward a scholarly understanding of the problems raised by modern critical inquiry as to the life and teaching of Jesus, and his significance for religion.

The course as outlined falls into four main divisions:

I. Our sources of information in the light of critical study.

II. The life and teaching of the historical Jesus as determined by modern critical scholarship.

III. The New Testament interpretation of Jesus formulated by the disciples after his death.

IV. The modern critical estimate of Jesus' significance for religion.

Formerly one merely asked, What do the gospels say about Jesus? An uncritical compilation of the statements of all four gospels constituted the source materials for a "Life of Jesus." But nowadays we are being told that the gospels are not all of equal value historically. In fact, it is said that not all portions of any single gospel are of the same historical worth. What gospels, or what portions of what gospels, are, then, reliable sources of information about Jesus? What answer would the modern critical scholar give us to this question?

Students now distinguish rather sharply between Jesus as a historical individual, and the Christ of primitive Christian faith. The former pertains to the activity of Jesus as a historical personality, while the latter relates to believers' thought of him subsequent to his earthly career. Recent scholarship has been much concerned with the question of what this earthly Jesus did and said. What are the results of this inquiry?

The early believers' interpretation of Jesus has also become a subject of critical investigation. We are all aware that the New Testament writings did not take form until two or more decades after Jesus' death, but in the meantime Christianity was being preached by different persons and in various parts of the oriental world. It is natural, therefore, to ask to what extent the New Testament picture of Jesus' significance has been influenced by these circumstances. And in how far is Jesus authority for this primitive preaching about him? Here again we shall interrogate modern scholarship.

Finally we shall acquaint ourselves with some typical opinions of recent writers as to the significance of Jesus for religion today. There are at present some wide differences of opinion on this question, and to many, no doubt, it seems to be the most vital of all problems connected with

our study of Jesus. What are the determining factors which the scholar of today must take into account in formulating his conclusions on this important issue?

A few significant books on each of these four topics are selected for special reading and study. A summary of the content of each book, with some critical estimate of its more important features, will be published from time to time. These will be accompanied by some suggestive questions, and a supplementary bibliography for those who wish to extend their reading over a wider field. Readers are encouraged to send to the editor of the course such queries as seem to them important for the understanding of the problems, and for which they find no satisfactory answer in the books studied. In so far as possible these questions will be the subject of further consideration either in these columns or in private communications. It will be our constant aim to give the reader every possible assistance in the understanding of the problems involved, and in the attainment of the data available for their solution.

The ultimate solution of our difficulties must of course be an individual affair. But whatever the final decision on individual problems may be, of one thing we feel confident: it is impossible to devote oneself to a careful study of the problems suggested by this course without coming to feel that, notwithstanding the wide differences of opinion which prevail in the theological interpretation of Jesus, modern scholarship does give us a very real sense of genuine acquaintance with Jesus himself. Christian faith and devotion cannot fail to be strengthened by the systematic attempt to spend the serious hours of a year's leisure in the effort to understand better the Master whose disciples include men today who may differ widely in theological opinions.

The books chosen for study are:[1]

F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission.*
E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel: Its Theology and Purpose.*
P. W. Schmiedel, *Jesus in Modern Criticism.*
W. Bousset, *Jesus.*
W. Sanday, *Life of Christ in Recent Research.*
J. Weiss, *Paul and Jesus.*
J. Weiss, *Christ: The Beginnings of Dogma.*
P. Lobstein, *The Virgin Birth of Christ.*
K. Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.*

[1] All of these books may be purchased from the University of Chicago Press, or they may be loaned from the Institute's traveling library. Inquiries should be directed to the secretary of the Institute, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

J. Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel: Christianity Justified in the Mind of Christ.*
J. Warschauer, *Jesus: Seven Questions.*
W. Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern.*

Burkitt's book shows how the gospels arose, the purpose each was intended to serve, and their respective historical value. Scott dwells upon similar phases of the Fourth Gospel, showing more especially how the author aimed to meet the needs of his generation by stating in terms of its thinking the sufficiency of Christ for the salvation of men. Bousset and Sanday sum up, from slightly different points of view, what they believe to be the results of critical scholarship in its historical estimate of the actual career of Jesus and the fundamental features of his teaching. Passing from these more distinctly historical phases of the study we turn to the problem of interpretation. Paul was a great interpreter of Jesus, and so distinctive is Paul's work that it is sometimes questioned whether he was not a new founder of Christianity. Weiss answers this question by showing the fundamental unity between Paul and Jesus. Weiss's second book briefly but clearly surveys the early stages of christological speculation. The Virgin Birth and the Resurrection of Jesus are two doctrines of so unique importance to early Christianity that they seem to call for special treatment. This is done by Lobstein and Lake, each adhering to the so-called historical method of investigation. The last three volumes bring us to the question of modern interpretation. Denney represents a scholarly yet conservative point of view, Warschauer takes a more liberal position, and Sanday with his characteristic insight surveys the main features of the problem as it has presented itself in the history of Christian thought, with special reference to its present solution.

I. THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The books selected for careful reading in this first division of the course are: F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, and E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel: Its Theology and Purpose.*

Professor Burkitt subjects the gospel records to a candid criticism which yields valuable and interesting results. His comparison of the Gospel of Mark with the Gospels of Matthew and Luke shows it to have been used by the authors of these gospels and known and used in substantially the same form and with the same contents which it now exhibits. For the gospel history then, Mark becomes our principal source. If we seek now to examine the Gospel of Mark with a view to determining its general trustworthiness, it proves to accord thoroughly with the data

supplied by other ancient records of the same period. Historical method thus leads us to the conclusion that in Mark we are nearer to the actual scenes of Jesus' life than in any other gospel record. Even Matthew and Luke are to a larger extent interpretations, and to a less extent unbiased records of fact, than is Mark. This we must constantly remember in dealing with these three sources. We must resist the temptation to fit into the historical framework supplied by Mark all the tales and sayings of Christ, which we find in the other gospels.

Again, Burkitt's comparison of the *Antiquities* of Josephus, written about 94 A.D., with the Gospel of Luke shows remarkable coincidences, which have led him, with other scholars, to conclude that Luke in writing his gospel and the Acts made use of Josephus' work. The evidence for this is not, however, quite conclusive. We must recognize that if Luke did use the *Antiquities* he steadily misused them, for practically every notable coincidence is attended by a notable departure. But most scholars will agree with Burkitt that the "we-sections" of the travel narratives of Acts show such resemblances to the body of the Acts, that it is difficult to resist the impression that the diarist of Acts 16:10 ff., 20:5 ff., 21:1 ff., 27:1 ff., was the author of Acts and the Third Gospel, that is, was Paul's friend, Luke, the physician. Since our four gospels are anonymous works it is great good fortune that we are able to identify the writers of the two earlier ones with so high a degree of historical probability.

If we seek to combine these conclusions as to the Third Gospel, we must suppose that it was written near the close of the first century, by one who shared in the experiences recorded in the later chapters of the Acts, but did not witness the ministry of Jesus, nor the earlier works of his followers. For those matters, particularly for the former, he must have been dependent upon such materials as he might in his travels, inquiries, and studies obtain. One such source we have already identified in the Gospel of Mark. Another was a document from which the writer of the First Gospel drew not a little of his discourse material.

The writer of the Gospel of Matthew, like the evangelist Luke, thus employed as materials for his composition the Gospel of Mark, and another source rich in the teachings of Jesus, which some have sought to identify with the Logia written by the apostle Matthew and mentioned by Papias. But these and other materials are used in very different ways by the two later evangelists. Matthew takes over into his gospel nearly everything in Mark, but freely transposes and rewrites, and interweaves with Mark a wealth of discourse material, sometimes interrupt-

ing the orderly course of Mark's events with an extended discourse, or a striking incident from another source. Luke shows a greater dependence upon the Greek Bible than does Matthew, and does not scruple to omit considerable parts of Mark, yet in his use of the Second Gospel Luke is much more faithful to Mark's order of events than is Matthew. Once, indeed, he interrupts Mark's narrative with a "great interpolation," as it has been called (Luke 9:51—18:14), the very section of Luke which shows most considerable resemblances to Matthew. But in Matthew these utterances are scattered and recombined with other material sometimes drawn from Mark, while in Luke they show no such evidences of transfer and recombination. These facts suggest that the so-called "Great Interpolation" in Luke may really represent one of his written sources which he incorporated into his gospel as little disturbed as possible, somewhat as he incorporated Mark.

Professor Burkitt points out that the best attested sayings of Jesus are not those which appear in all three Synoptists, but those which may be traced to the two older sources, Mark, and the other lying back of our longer Synoptists. What in Jesus' teaching most impressed his hearers may thus fairly be sought in this doubly attested material.

In the Gospel of John, on the other hand, Burkitt finds not so much a history as a theology. It was an interpretation, not a biography of Jesus, and won its way to general acceptance because it so well expressed the general conviction of the churches as to the worth and meaning of Jesus.

At least as early as 110 A.D. the four gospels existed in written form, and the three longer ones, at least, were in circulation in different regions. By 150 certainly, the four had come to be used together, and by 170 they had together distanced all competitors, and fully established themselves in the esteem of the churches.

It would be difficult to name a book in which the origin and worth of the gospels have been more cordially and sympathetically sketched. The general soundness of the positions taken can scarcely be denied and the inference seems inevitable that we must no longer use the gospels, and all that is in them, side by side as of co-ordinate historical worth, but must set ourselves seriously to the task of historical criticism and evaluation, if we are to learn all that the gospel records may teach us of the ministry and nature of Jesus.

Every student of the Gospel of John, and of the questions which that gospel calls forth, will read Professor Scott's thoughtful and stimulating book with the keenest interest. It is a fresh penetrating discus-

sion of the contents of the gospel, with the object of making clear, not only the purpose of the gospel, but the actual theological situation in which that purpose was wrought out. The gospel came into existence in the third generation after Christ, and is a "work of transition in which primitive Christianity is carried over into a different world of thought." We do not know who the author was, but he was a Christian whose fellowship with the living Christ gave him an understanding of the real mind of the master. His work is not a mere speculative treatise upon the eternal worth of Jesus, but a large, full, appreciative interpretation of the facts of his earthly career in the light of a disciple's inward experience—an interpretation which shall show that the Christ of experience and the Jesus of history are one, and that in the recorded life there is an abiding import.

While the facts are thus used, it is well to bear in mind that they are of subordinate importance for the Evangelist. He comes to them with a certain conception of the person and life of Christ, and in order to make this clear, handles the data with considerable freedom. To such an extent is this true that it is questionable how far the old argument for the authenticity of the narrative—its vivid details—can be maintained. "The picturesque detail can be set down, not to the accurate memory of the eye-witness, but to the fine instinct of the literary artist." In the discourses a large subjective element is present. They are the words of Jesus plus interpretative expansions and additions made by the writer of the gospel. In all this there is no intention of falsifying: rather the abiding purpose of making evident the eternal Christ, through whom men shall gain life, dominates the whole structure of the gospel. The necessity for this fresh and larger interpretation was in the time in which the Evangelist was living, in the culture by which he was surrounded, and in the tendency to devitalize Christianity by either making it into a philosophy or treating it simply as a tradition. The earnest effort to meet this necessity has caused the incorporation of diverse elements which the writer has not successfully fused. "Again and again we meet with isolated ideas which cannot be reconciled with the characteristic Johannine thought. . . . . The author is continually trying to find place within the same system for opposite types of thought and belief. . . . . A revelation given through a historical life is interpreted by means of a philosophical doctrine with which it cannot in any true sense be reconciled."

From these statements and quotations the author's point of view can be readily gained. The whole book is occupied in making good these

assertions. "Three main sources are traceable in the gospel, the synoptic tradition, the writings of Paul, and the Alexandrian philosophy"; but the material from each has been stamped with the author's own genius. One is somewhat surprised after the strong emphasis upon the unfused character of the gospel to come upon an equal emphasis upon its organic unity. This latter is so clear as to make Wendt's theory of a double source wholly untenable. That the gospel has been influenced by the teachings of Paul seems unquestionable, but it is less evident that the story of Nathaniel is a symbolic reference to the great apostle. The whole section on the relation of the gospel to Paul is worth most careful attention. So too is the discriminating estimate of the bearing of Alexandrian influence. "They do not affect the substance of the Johannine thought so much as the forms under which it is presented."

Before taking up the discussion of the leading doctrines of the gospel, the author devotes two chapters to setting forth the polemical and ecclesiastical aims which he discovers in it. There are at least three parties. The Jews, the followers of John the Baptist, and the Gnostics receive attention with polemical intent, and this fact makes the gospel strongly controversial. In the interesting chapter on ecclesiastical aims the position of the author is revealed in such statements as these:

"His [the Evangelist's] conception of Christ as the Logos involves him in a view of life which can only be described as semi-physical. . . . . John accepts without question the ordinary church doctrine of the mystical efficacy of baptism. . . . . Baptism is the necessary miracle by which this change (regeneration), half physical in its character, is made possible."

Such interpretations may call forth sharp dissent. One of the persistently debated questions regarding the Fourth Gospel is the relation of the prologue to the rest of the gospel. Is it of the nature of a postscript, or does its doctrine of the Logos mold the whole succeeding narrative? Certainly our author is right in declaring that "the theme of the gospel is not the Logos, but the Divine person, Jesus Christ." But when he claims that the evangelist has so "imported the doctrine of the Logos into the gospel record as to empty the life of Christ of much of its real worth and grandeur," and that he is trying to interpret under the forms of philosophy what has been given him in the experience of faith, he will not command universal assent. The only philosophic term which the gospel offers us is the Logos, and that is immediately filled in with content from the Old Testament, and from the Evangelist's own experience.

In the two deeply interesting chapters on "Life" and the "Communication of Life" we are brought to see the same combination of metaphysical and religious conceptions—the same combination of Greek notions with those derived from experience—as appear in the unfolding of the doctrine of Christ.

"John involves himself in a view (of life) which may fairly be described as semi-physical. . . . . The life was present in him as an ethereal essence, and is transmitted through the elements of the Eucharist which represents his flesh and blood. . . . . Nowhere is John's affinity to the Greek thinkers more unmistakable than in the value he assigns to knowledge." "Union with Christ is on one side a magical transaction involving a relation to Christ which is almost physical in its nature: on the other it is grounded in a moral fellowship."

John's spiritual interpretation of the return of Christ is finely set forth, and the true bearing of the Evangelist's profound conception of the spiritual as opposed to the apocalyptic understanding of this great reality made helpfully evident. Because of his doctrine of a spiritual return of Christ, the author finds that there is no place in the Johannine theology for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It is difficult to distinguish between the work of the Spirit and the work of the exalted Christ. The teaching of the Evangelist regarding the Spirit is an attempt to combine the doctrine of Paul with his own regarding the exalted Christ.

Such in bare and imperfect outline is the method of this earnest and thoughtful interpretation. The gospel is highly esteemed, yet there is much in it that cannot have permanent worth. The Evangelist "has recourse to the speculative forms which the thought of his time afforded him, and seeks to express by means of them the purely religious truths of Christianity. The result is that the genuine import of his teaching is, to a great extent, obscured. We have constantly to disengage it from the alien metaphysic which appears to interpret, but most often warps and conceals it." Is this judgment wholly justifiable? Are we not in danger of overemphasizing the Evangelist's attempt at giving a metaphysical presentation of Jesus? Did he not aim rather to present the religious value of his Master as the revelation of God to men? This may at least be regarded as still an open question.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Over what period does the composition of our four gospels extend?
2. What was the process of literary growth during this period?

3. To what extent can the names of personal followers of Jesus be connected with these writings?

4. What were the main purposes which the several evangelists aimed to serve by their writings?

5. Does the question of authorship materially affect the question of historical reliability?

6. How can the primitive character, and also the historical worth, of gospel tradition be tested?

7. What are the oldest elements of this tradition, and what can be said as to their historical accuracy?

8. What picture of Jesus do the oldest phases of the tradition present?

9. How did the various evangelists relate their thought of the earthly Jesus to that of the heavenly Christ?

10. Is the value of the gospels for us today conditioned solely by the amount of historical information they give us about Jesus?

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament.*
E. D. Burton, *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem.*
A. Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus.*
F. C. Burkitt, *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus.*
P. Wernle, *The Sources of Our Knowledge of the Life of Jesus.*
B. W. Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story.*
B. W. Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate.*
W. Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel.*
J. Drummond, *An Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.*
P. W. Schmiedel, *The Johannine Writings.*

Moffatt's work is indispensable for the study of the literary problems of the gospels; Burton makes a very minute examination of the literary relationships of the Synoptic Gospels and reconstructs their supposed source documents; Harnack attempts to reconstruct the ancient source containing Jesus' sayings, but the method employed seems to some critics too mechanical; Burkitt's *Earliest Sources* popularizes conclusions similar to those given in his *Gospel History;* Bacon's *Beginnings* is a minute analysis of the Gospel of Mark, with a view to determining its sources and their historical worth; Wernle gives in popular form the constructive results of advanced gospel criticism in Germany. Of the works on the Fourth Gospel, Sanday's is a survey of current opinion and a conservative estimate of the problems; Drummond holds a mediating position, while Bacon and Schmiedel arrive at more radical results.

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF BIBLE CLUBS USING THE OUTLINE COURSES

Numbers of ministers are finding in the leadership of Bible clubs an opportunity to introduce large groups of people to the historical method of Bible-study, and those results of recent scholarship which are assured. They are thus laying solid foundations for the reconstruction of theological dogma upon the basis of historical fact. "The Social and Ethical Teaching of Jesus," and "The Origin and Religious Teaching of the Old Testament Books" are vital and interesting topics upon which the BIBLICAL WORLD *will furnish monthly valuable helps through a Club Leaders' Exchange, under the direction of* GEORGIA LOUISE CHAMBERLIN, *Secretary of the Reading and Library Department of the American Institute of Sacred Literature.*

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

It will be the task of the director in this first contribution to the Club Leaders' Exchange to lay foundations, to state general principles, and to give preliminary reference lists. To many the principles may be obvious and the books recommended familiar, but even to such the formal enumeration may help to clarify method and to save labor.

The successful club leader must view his subject as a whole. He must be able to distinguish between the foundation and the structure which he is to build upon it. He must appreciate the relative importance of the different phases of the subject and must see the true proportion between the essentials and less important details. For this reason he should rapidly survey the main outline of his entire course before his first meeting with the class. It is quite as essential to know at what goal he is finally to arrive as at what point he shall begin.

Not only is this true of the entire course, it is equally true of each session of the class. The skilful leader will have his ultimate aim in mind from the opening hour to the climactic moment when the class is prepared for the full appreciation of it.

The most successful club leaders are those who are able to provoke freedom of discussion among members and to secure such co-operation from them as will result in genuine contributions to the class work. The wise leader will never tell a class what its members can find out for themselves, but he will assure himself that the necessary sources of information are available and that the members of the class know how

to use them. Definite assignment of tasks with the expectation of their performance will lead to development of discussion and intelligent questions on the part of the class.

The leader should know each member of his group and assign differing tasks taking into consideration the differing capacities, time, and facilities of each member The bane of Bible-study in the past has been the universal acceptance of the idea that people would not or could not do real work in this subject. A leader should banish from the start this absurd notion and teach his class, first of all, that the subject which they have to consider is neither more difficult nor less important than the study of any subject of history, literature, or thought, and that the average intellect is equal to any task which will be imposed. It may be well not to emphasize too strongly the performance of a daily task such as the textbook assigns. A certain amount of work done between each of the meetings of the class may be just as acceptable if done in one or two days as if spread over the entire period. To many minds, however, the daily plan is acceptable and produces good results.

Since the topics and suggestions will appear in the *Biblical World* about the first of the month, it would be well to arrange meetings for the middle and latter part of the month, so that in no case will the leader or the club be waiting for the program. A preliminary meeting for organization may well be arranged for the first week of October.

A secretary and treasurer will be able to make enrolments and collections, and to report promptly to the headquarters of the Institute full names, addresses, and fees. The place of meeting should be comfortable and convenient, the day and the hour so arranged as to avoid haste and to give opportunity for social intercourse. One hour for the formal presentation of the program and the second hour for informal discussion and conversation upon the topics discussed is not too long a period if it is all happily occupied.

Leaders of clubs are invited to send to the director of this department questions concerning organization, conduct, and difficulties in the club work. To all such correspondence most careful consideration will be given.

"THE SOCIAL AND ETHICAL TEACHING OF JESUS"[1]

The ultimate aim of this course is not chiefly to learn what Jesus taught the people in his day which would change their way of thinking or their mode of living, but to find those underlying principles of action expressed to the people of his day in language and form which they

[1] Course-book from the American Institute of Sacred Literature, *The Social and Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, by Shailer Mathews. 50 cents, postage 4 cents.

might comprehend, and to re-express them in terms of everyday life in the twentieth century. Therefore, it may be well at the very start to assign to different members of the class the practical topics suggested under study IX. Members will then keep these topics in mind throughout the course and bring them forward for dicussion when the appropriate section is reached.

The aim of this month's work should be to establish the principle that in considering the teaching of Jesus there are elements of modification to be found in the literary form, the question of authorship, or the editorial medium, and an understanding of the life of his times. This principle once established, the student is prepared to search for that new and vitalizing contribution to the way of life which Jesus made. The young people of our day have been subjected to the hypnotic influence of the question, "What would Jesus do?" and too often the answer has been a substantial and literal transfer of Jesus' acts to a time in which such acts did not in any sense represent him, since he was pre-eminently a man of his times and a careful observer of such conventionalities as were not in direct opposition to his principles.

A definite program for the meetings of the class announced beforehand and carefully followed will sometimes produce better results than a meeting in which only the leader knows what the hour is to compass. The following tentative programs for two meetings may be subdivided to serve for four, if a weekly meeting is desired. The question as to which of these topics should be presented in written papers, which orally, and which by individuals or by the class as a whole must rest with the leader, who will aim to have the hour replete with life and interest.

SUGGESTIVE PROGRAMS

First meeting.—1. The sources of our information concerning the teaching of Jesus. 2. Examples of the various literary forms in which Jesus embodied his teaching. 3. The perfection of form in some of the parables used by Jesus. 4. The characteristics of Jesus' method of teaching and their essential value. Question for discussion: "Are the teachings of Jesus to the people of his own times worthy to be obeyed today?" "Are they to be obeyed literally?"

Second meeting.—1. The education of Jesus as affecting the form and content of his teaching. 2. Traces of Jesus' home life found in his teaching. 3. In the light of the topics thus far considered, does it appear that the essential feature of the teaching of Jesus is in its form and method, or does it consist in the principles which lie behind his various sayings? Does it appear that for a proper understanding of his words it is necessary to consider not only the circumstances, but the habits of thought and the current beliefs which gave color and form to his words? Illustrative cases should be cited. Ques-

tion for discussion: "In consideration of the apparent influence of Jesus' study of the Old Testament upon his thought, what place should be given to Old Testament study today as a preparation for the understanding of Jesus? As a help to right thought and living today?"

The instructions in the textbook provide for topics for original investigation with each month's work. The leader must decide whether the class is prepared to enter upon the active work which such investigations involve and will, in case he decides in the affirmative, select from the several topics given the one or more which he thinks would appeal to his class as vital. He will naturally choose a topic which has some peculiar significance in the community in which the club is located.

REFERENCE READING

The public library is usually willing to co-operate with leaders of clubs in providing a few well-chosen books which can be consulted by those who are willing to do a little more reading than that required by the course. In the larger towns the libraries might be willing to put in the entire list of books suggested from time to time.

Very suggestive material will be found in the discussion of the volume by Burkitt which considers the sources of the teaching of Jesus, in the material for professional reading courses on p. 265 of this number of the *Biblical World*. No one leader is likely to have all of the books in the following list, but all are modern and helpful, each in its own way. The first six books upon the list are best adapted for popular reading by the class. None of the literature on this subject is too technical or difficult, however, for the ordinary reader, as the following titles will suggest. The books which treat the subject in a more general way are placed first; those which take up the particular teachings of Jesus second, and last those which attempt to make practical application of those teachings to modern conditions.

The Teaching of Jesus, G. B. Stevens; *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, Shailer Mathews; *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, Francis G. Peabody; *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, Walter Rauschenbusch; *My Religion in Every-day Life*, Josiah Strong; *Jesus' Way*, William DeWitt Hyde; *The Social Basis of Religion*, Simon N. Patten; *Outlines of Social Theology*, William DeWitt Hyde; *The Social Gospel*, A. Harnack, W. Herrmann; *Social Duties*, Charles R. Henderson; *The Revelation of Jesus*, George H. Gilbert; *The Ethics of Jesus*, Henry Churchill King; *The Teaching of Jesus*, H. H. Wendt; *Social Salvation*, Washington Gladden; *Social Relationships in the Light of Christianity*, Edward Chadwick; *Social Solutions*, Thomas C. Hall; *The Church and the Changing Order*, Shailer Mathews; *Faith and Social Service*, George Hodges.

It is sometimes possible to assign a book to each member of the group and to hold that person responsible during the entire course for the contributions which that book makes to different topics. The Hastings *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, in two volumes, contains very helpful articles under the heads, "The Character of Christ," "Mental Characteristics," "Ethics," "Gospel," "Education." Hastings' one-volume *Dictionary of the Bible* furnishes excellent articles on "Jesus Christ," "Ethics," etc.

"THE ORIGIN AND RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS"[2]

The ultimate aim of this course is to establish in the popular mind the fact of growth and development in the Hebrew religion and to show by specific examples how this development may be traced in the literature and history of the Hebrews as found in the literature of the Old Testament.

The reader of the "Foreword to the Student" with which the course-book opens will note the very serious limitations which must accompany the presentation of so large a body of literature in the space of nine months' study. We must not expect, therefore, that students of this course will secure complete and systematic knowledge of any one portion of the Bible. It is rather the bird's-eye view which gives a strong impression and produces an attitude of mind open to new truth. It may be wise to pass over for the present the rather extended statements concerning the moral value of historical study of the Bible on p. 7 of the textbook, and to emphasize that theme a little later when the members of the class shall have had some experience in the use of this method. The leader may well present to the class, however, the following principles underlying the so-called historical method of study:

1. Men do not live independently of the events and thought with which they are surrounded. Therefore, to understand the men of the Bible we must know the life of the Hebrew people at and also preceding the time in which these men lived.

2. Nations do not stand independent of and unaffected by the life of the surrounding nations. Therefore, in order to understand the Hebrew people we must study the life and thought of the greater nations with which they came into contact from the earliest times.

3. We must be prepared to find that the doctrines of even the greatest men of one century will be superseded by those of a later century; the law of development demands continual advance.

[2] Course-book from the American Institute of Sacred Literature, *The Origin and Religious Teaching of the Old Testament Books*, by Georgia Louise Chamberlin. 50 cents, postage 4 cents.

4. The recognition of the principle of development in thought and belief is paralleled by the principle of evolution in the physical world which has been seen to be fundamental in the realm of science. Development seems the natural expression of the divine process wherever life exists.

The aim of the first month's study will be to bring together two classes of Hebrew traditions—those relating to the world and its beginnings and those relating to the nation in its beginnings; after this to show that the purpose of this last presentation of these traditions was essentially religious. A secondary task is the discovery and definition of the religious value of these early stories for people of our own day.

A definite program.—The programs submitted below are very full for two meetings and may well be cut somewhat. For four meetings they will be amply sufficient. The effective reading of the Old Testament is an art well worth cultivating. Selections to be presented as readings find a place, therefore, on both programs.

SUGGESTED PROGRAMS

First meeting.—1. The world traditions of the Hebrews with a comparison of the two stories of creation: (*a*) as to the purpose of the writer, (*b*) as to the literary characteristics. 2. Abraham: (*a*) migration and settlement of Abraham in Canaan, (*b*) Abraham as a land-owner, a shepherd, a father, a householder, a worshiper of God. 3. Reading and comment of stories, (*a*) a lesson concerning human sacrifice (Gen., chap. 22); (*b*) an oriental bargain (Gen., chap. 23). Subject for discussion, "Can human sacrifice be a religious act? If so, how?"

Second meeting.—1. The character of Jacob measured by the standards of his own day. 2. Selected readings from the story of Joseph. 3. Israel in Egypt and the education of Moses. 4. The liberator and the escape from bondage. Subject for discussion, "The religious value of the stories of Genesis and Exodus, to the Hebrew people." Debate, "Is law more commonly corrective or preventive?"

Further questions especially intended for those groups of people who are seeking to lay a foundation for teaching the Old Testament to children may be: (1) Granting that the early stories of Genesis were told with a distinctly religious purpose, what elements in this teaching are universal in application, and therefore equally valuable in religious teaching today? (2) Should the story be retold in the language of modern times, or is it preferable to read it practically as it is written, with only such changes as are absolutely necessary to bring it within the comprehension of the children? (3) How can these stories be presented in such a way as to teach valuable truth, though seeming to

contradict scientific facts which are reasonably certain? (4) Can we use the stories of the patriarchs in religious teaching in such a way as to show that to live up to one's highest ideals while always seeking for higher is the fullest life?

It is a very interesting process to test the members of the class as to their ability to tell the stories of Genesis accurately and simply without either memorizing the words of the text or uselessly multiplying words and details.

REFERENCE READING

Students of this course should use the American Standard Revised Version of the Bible. The Authorized Version does not show the distinctions of literary form that are of great value in this course.

Helpful books for use during the entire course are: Kent, *History of the Hebrew People*, 2 vols.; Wade, *Old Testament History;* Smith, Henry Preserved, *History of Israel;* Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament;* McFadyen, *Introduction to the Old Testament;* Sayce, *Early Israel and Surrounding Nations;* McCurdy, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, 1-vol. edition.

On the early period: Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis;* Davis, *Genesis and the Hebrew Tradition;* Driver, *Genesis;* Briggs, *The Hexateuch.*

On the prophetic period: Smith, George Adam, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets;* Davidson, *Prophets of Israel;* Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel;* Batten, *The Hebrew Prophet;* Chamberlin, *The Hebrew Prophets or Patriots and Leaders of Israel;* Driver, *Isaiah: His Life and Times;* Cheyne, *Jeremiah: His Life and Times.*

On the wisdom literature: Kent, *The Wise Men of Ancient Israel and Their Proverbs;* Davison, *Praises of Israel;* Davison, *The Wisdom Element in the Old Testament;* Peake, *The Book of Job;* Deland, *The Song of Songs.*

On the entire period much help can be gained from the volumes in the series on the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges; The Bible for Home and School*, and Kent's *Historical Bible.* The one-volume Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* furnishes excellent articles under the following heads: "Israel," "Genesis," "Exodus," "Abraham," "Egypt," "Moses," "Hexateuch," "Chronology of Old Testament," "Law," "Tabernacle," "Sacrifice," and "Offering." The danger to be avoided in this course is that of trying to give too much, for only so much of the historical background as is needed to give the biblical material life and background is necessary. The pupils in this course should learn to consider the material in the Bible itself and to construct their principles of interpretation at first hand. Only in this way will the course prove a training in a method which it is hoped the students will wish to adopt for all their future study of the Bible.

Work and Workers

Edward Lewis Curtis, Holmes Professor of Hebrew in Yale Divinity School, died August 26, 1911, on the boat between Castine, Maine, and Boston. His death removes a leader in biblical and theological work, and he will be mourned by a wide circle of colleagues and friends. He was born in Ann Arbor, Mich., October 13, 1853. His father, William S. Curtis, was once president of Knox College, at Galesburg, Illinois. Mr. Curtis graduated at Yale in 1874 and at Union Theological Seminary in 1879. He continued his theological study in Germany, 1879–81. He became instructor in Old Testament literature in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, in 1881 and was promoted to a professorship in 1886. In 1891 he was called to the Holmes professorship of Hebrew in Yale Divinity School, taking up in that institution the work just relinquished by Professor William R. Harper. For the past twenty years he has continued in that chair, and last year produced his principal work, a *Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* in the "International Critical Series." Professor Curtis had long been in failing health and this fact has somewhat limited the full exercise of his powers. In Chicago he made a large place for himself through his years of service at McCormick Seminary. Mrs. Curtis and four children survive him.

Professor Caspar René Gregory, of the University of Leipzig, the well-known New Testament textual scholar, is visiting America this autumn and lecturing on theological subjects at a large number of institutions. Professor Gregory's great reputation as a scholar and critic of the New Testament text, and his extraordinarily wide circle of pupils and friends insure him a most cordial welcome to his native country. Among the institutions before which Professor Gregory will lecture are: The University of Chicago; Vanderbilt University; Colgate University; University of Pennsylvania; Vassar College; U.S. Military Academy; Wellesley College; University of Wisconsin; Bryn Mawr College; Cornell University; University of Texas; University of Illinois; Westminster College, Westminster, Colorado; University of Michigan; and the following Theological Seminaries: Crozer, Garrett, Rochester, Louisville Baptist, New Brunswick, Andover, Auburn, Union, Princeton, Drew, Lutheran (Philadelphia), Gettysburg.

Book Reviews

THE SON OF MAN[1]

The eighth part of Dr. Abbott's *Diatessarica* does not correspond exactly to the subject set apart for it in the prospectus to the whole remarkable series, which accompanied the first volume of those studies in 1900. But if Dr. Abbott has departed somewhat from the details of his original plan, it is only to improve upon it, for his Part VIII is on a more timely and vital theme than he then proposed for it. The meaning of the term Son of Man in the New Testament has in recent years been much discussed, and it has become more than ever manifest that the message of Jesus was in no small degree bound up in the meaning of that phrase. It has been widely affirmed that as it occurs in the utterances of Jesus it has the same connotation as in the Book of Enoch, that is, it carries with it the atmosphere of apocalyptic messianism. Over against this view Dr. Abbott proposes the hypothesis that Jesus was influenced in his use of the term not so much by Enoch as by Ezekiel, or rather by the whole Old Testament scripture, beginning with the man Adam of Genesis. Jesus, like Ezekiel, thought of himself as the Son of Man, or, as the Aramaic Targums put it, Son of Adam. Paul's idea of a first and second Adam may thus, according to Dr. Abbott, have been not original with him but really implicit in Jesus' self-designation. He preferred to call himself Son of Man as if to say, "Keep constantly in view my human nature that you may perceive how divine a thing human nature may be, and that you may be led through the knowledge of the divinity of man to the knowledge of the humanity of God."

It is not possible within the limits of a review to do justice to an argument so closely knit and massively buttressed as Dr. Abbott's. His thick volume falls into five books. The first traces the use of the term Son of Man in pre-Christian usage in the Old Testament, as applied to man in general, to Ezekiel and to Daniel, in Graeco-Jewish literature, in Jewish usage, and in Aramaic and Greek interpretations. The sixth chapter draws a series of parallels between Ezekiel and

[1] *The Son of Man, or Contributions to the Study of the Thoughts of Jesus.* (*Diatessarica*, Part VIII.) By Edwin A. Abbott. London and Edinburgh: The Cambridge University Press, 1910. Pp. lii+873. 16*s.* 6*d.* net.

Jesus, which proves far more telling than might be anticipated. Dr. Abbott does not indeed wholly escape what will seem to many fanciful interpretations of his materials, but his bold, comprehensive, and exhaustive method challenges admiration. At the end of Book I Dr. Abbott assumes as a working hypothesis that Jesus called himself Son of Adam, and that he had in view the fact that Ezekiel was similarly called after he had seen a vision of one like a Man above the throne in heaven, and that Adam too was the Son of God. In doing this his fundamental idea was this, that "though knowing himself to be akin to the Humanity of God in heaven," he "preferred to dwell on the thought that he was akin to the divinity of Man on earth."

Book II deals with the Son of Man in Mark, Matthew, and Luke, that is, triple tradition material; Book III, with the Son of Man in Matthew and Luke, in double tradition and in passages peculiar to each; and Book IV, with the Son of Man in John. Dr. Abbott finds that in most of these instances the phrase taken in the sense proposed gives new meaning to the passage. But he goes on in conclusion to ask whether the investigation has thrown light upon the whole of Christ's life. In this connection he reproduces under the title "A Harmony of the Facts," Part II of his "Message of the Son of Man." It is not easy to sum up his position, but perhaps its main element is the conviction that into the term "Son of Man," Jesus threw not the messianic sense of the apocalyptists but a more profound content, derived from the deepest utterances and disclosures of the Old Testament. By its assumption he affirmed at once his own identity with humanity and his faith in the divine origin and destiny of man, and the expression properly understood becomes a key to the true inwardness of his message.

The learned intricacies of Dr. Abbott's argument may sometimes move the reader to impatience, and it is sometimes hard to see the wood for the trees. But it is just this searching, precise, and learned investigation, boldly conceived and indefatigably followed, that the New Testament most requires and has too often lacked. The view which Dr. Abbott urges is not in all respects new, but the eschatological emphasis of recent New Testament study has thrown it somewhat into the background, and it has never been presented from just the point of view and with the minute substantiation of Dr. Abbott's work. The spirit of that work is nowhere better shown than in the author's rejoinder to the objection that we all know what Jesus thought. "This book is written in the conviction that *we do not all know what he thought;* that we are very far from knowing it; that God has provided us with

means for knowing it better, as the generations advance; and that, if we could know it better, we should be drawn more powerfully toward it."

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ASTROLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

The appearance of Jeremias' work[1] in English is declared by the author to constitute in effect a third edition. Mrs. Beaumont's translation has had the advantage of close co-operation and careful revision on the part of the author and is worthy of high praise. Occasionally, to be sure, the German original has unduly controlled the English expression, as for example in Vol. I, p. 343, where the following clause occurs, viz., "which unfortunately only still contained," and on p. 350, "further appears in proper names the divine name *ilu*." Sometimes the translation is less clear than the original as, e.g., on p. 237 of Vol. II, where the sentence "the victory would certainly be sealed according to oriental custom by the introduction of the worship, therefore of the worship of Yahweh," should read "by the introduction of the cultus of the country, to wit, the worship of Yahweh."

The special introduction by Dr. C. H. W. Johns, of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, points out the significance of this work as furnishing English readers with the best statement of the astral theory of the universe and its application to the interpretation of the Old Testament. Dr. Johns himself is careful not to commit himself to an acceptance of the theory; but, on the other hand, he evidently looks upon it with much favor and commends it to the serious consideration of all students of the Hebrew religion.

The view owes its existence to the indefatigable industry and the resourceful ingenuity of Dr. Hugo Winckler, of the University of Berlin. It has met with hearty approval from many German scholars, like Jeremias; but with strenuous opposition from many others. In this edition the first three chapters are given to setting forth the astral theory of the universe that is thought to have been current in the ancient East. Considerations of space do not permit an exposition of that theory here. Suffice it to say that its fundamental proposition is to the effect

[1] *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East.* By A. JEREMIAS. Manual of Biblical Archaeology. English Edition Translated from the Second German Edition, Revised and Enlarged by the Author, by C. L. BEAUMONT. Edited by C. H. W. JOHNS. [Theological translation library, Vols. XXVIII and XXIX.] 2 vols. New York: Putnam, 1911. xxx+352, xii+331 pages. $7.00.

that everything in the world below is but a copy of its original in the heavens above. The course of events here consequently is determined by the course of events there. He who can read the meaning of the heavens can tell, not only what has taken place upon earth, but what will take place.

The evidence urged in support of this theory involves the attribution to the old Babylonians of a high degree of astronomical lore. But when claims of this sort were scrutinized by one who not only is versed in Assyrian but is also a practical astronomer, viz , Dr. F. X. Kugler,[2] they were found not to have a sufficient basis in facts. For example, the contention that the Babylonians knew of the precession of the equinoxes is shown to be untenable; the claim that the zodiac was divided perpendicularly by the Babylonians is made to give way to the demonstration that they divided it longitudinally; and the Babylonian year, instead of having been a *sun* year, is shown to have been a *moon* year, with intercalated months. These propositions are vital in the astral theory; with them the structure stands or falls.

On the strength of this theory, Jeremias and other supporters maintain that monotheism and truly spiritual religion developed in Israel as early as the days of Abraham, having been acquired from Babylonia. The many strong facts so easily brought forward against this interpretation of early Hebrew experience are explained by Jeremias as due to the fact that there was from the earliest times in Israel an esoteric religion in the possession of a few choice spirits while the masses were content with a cultus that was essentially pagan. The difficulty with this view is, of course, the fact that the very best men in Israel betray no consciousness of this esoteric monotheism until very late in the nation's life but, on the contrary, furnish abundant evidence that they were dominated by crass polytheisic ideas.

A few illustrations of the astral method of interpretation may be cited. The garden of Eden represents the entire universe in miniature; its two trees represent the upper and under worlds. The twelve loaves of shew-bread correspond to the twelve months of the year. The seven-branched candlestick represents the seven planets. The two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, at the entrance to the temple represent the two turning-points (solstices) of the zodiac. The names of the twelve tribes correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac and the sentences of Jacob's Blessing play upon the zodiacal significance of the names. The prophet's

[2] Especially in his *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* (1907); 2d ed., 1909; and *Im Bannkreis Babels* (1910).

mantle of I Kings 11:29 ff. "signifies the cosmos, or the microcosmos of the kingdom, or what is in idea the same, knowledge and power over fate." The combat between David and Goliath is of cosmic significance, Goliath being probably the mythical dragon representative of the winter season, while David is representative of the summer season. The word "shibboleth" was possibly chosen (Judg. 12:5 f.) with reference to its allusion to Ishtar, "the heavenly virgin with the ears of corn," whose popular cult in Israel "is attested by the account of the festival of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter."

Exception may be taken to various statements lying wholly outside the disputed realm of the astral theory. The very first paragraph makes the somewhat rash statement that "history clearly shows that the 2,000 years between the founding of Babylon and the subjection of the Eastern world to the West were under the intellectual domination of Babylon." This seems to reflect on the one hand too slight a comprehension and appreciation of the contribution of the Egyptian civilization to the thought of western Asia and on the other a failure to do justice to the distinctive and independent thought of Israel. The evidence of the excavations in Palestine tells strongly against the predominance of Babylonian ideas and customs there. The influence of Egypt is very much more apparent. Again, to say "we know of no uncivilized time of Israel" (I, 273) is to plead guilty to a certain hopeless kind of blindness. The actions of the leaders of the early Israelites are in many cases psychologically incomprehensible on the supposition that they were the representatives of an elevated stage of civilization. Their thoughts and deeds comport far better with a nomadic and almost barbarous state. Solomon's temple was the first great building to be erected in Canaan by the Hebrews, so far as our records go, and for its construction recourse was had to the services of a master-workman trained in Phoenicia.

Yet again, to say that "differentiation between Judaism before and after the Exile must be given up" is to set at naught all the results of modern Bible-study. Such an opinion reflects its author's inability to enter into any genuine appreciation of the history of thought in Israel. He has become the protagonist of a one-sided interpretation which attempts to solve all the problems of Hebrew religion without any real knowledge of what the problems are.

While the astral theory sets aside ruthlessly the results of the historical treatment of the biblical material, it will have become evident to most readers that it offers little comfort to the supporters of the traditional interpretation. There is nothing here of special divine revela-

tion and little left of the thought that Israel was a "peculiar people." She stands rather in the rôle of an inveterate borrower from Babylon, who in most cases improved the quality of the borrowed materials after they came into her possession. The Old Testament instead of being "the word of God" becomes a repository of outworn and thinly disguised astrological superstitions. Myth and history are so inextricably mingled that little escapes the malarial influence of the mythical atmosphere. But, while much more might be said by way of disagreement, it remains true that Mrs. Beaumont has performed good service in placing this book within the reach of English readers. They have now no excuse for professing ignorance of the meaning of the astral theory of the universe as applied to the interpretation of the Old Testament. Moreover, though Dr. Jeremias' interpretations are for the most part vitiated by his subservience to this theory, yet the book presents very much Babylonian and Assyrian material not elsewhere easily accessible, which is of great value for the illumination of many passages in the Old Testament. It is regrettable that the work was not done sooner. Too often German phantasies are not introduced to English readers until they have had their day and ceased to be in their original habitat.

J. M. Powis Smith

The University of Chicago

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

ARTICLES

SMITH, H. P. The Hebrew View of Sin. *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1911.

This is a critical study of the development of the idea of sin in Israel which is thoroughly representative of the historical point of view. It is an excellent piece of work and needs supplementing only on the side of the social background of the idea. The social forces operative in a community are, however, difficult to discover and classify even under the most favorable conditions, and the task becomes almost impossible in the case of a nation past and gone, leaving as little tangible evidence of its social structure as did the Hebrews.

SAYCE, A. H. The Jewish Garrison and Temple in Elephantine. *Expositor*, August, 1911, pp. 97–116.

An interesting account of the steps leading to the discovery of the Aramaic papyri and a survey of their contents and significance. Professor Sayce would date the origin of the colony as early as 655 B.C. His view that the papyri demonstrate the existence of the Priestly Code in the pre-exilic age fails to discriminate between the date of the origin of the code as a literary document and the age of the materials of which it is composed. Most scholars have been claiming for some time that the Priestly Code was but a single step in a long course and that much of its contents was inherited from the traditions and customs of the ritual in pre-exilic Israel.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

VON SODEN, H. FREIHERR. Palästina und seine Geschichte. Dritte Auflage. Leipzig: Teubner, 1911. Pp. 111. M. 1.25.

Professor von Soden's six popular lectures on Palestine in the various periods of its history are well known to constitute a compact sketch, rather of the history than of the physical features of the Holy Land. Their republication in this third edition reflects their wide popularity. This little book with its maps and plans is perhaps our most compact historical geography of Palestine.

LAMBERTON, CLARK D. Themes from St. John's Gospel in Early Roman Catacomb Painting. Princeton University Press, 1911. Pp. 146.

This scholarly treatment of the Johannine themes in the decorations of the catacombs is the work of a Fellow in Christian Archaeology in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. It is profusely illustrated with reproductions taken for the most part from other works on the subject. The imagery of the Fourth Gospel, so congenial to Greek thought, naturally finds abundant reflection in the catacomb frescoes.

DEAN, J. T. Visions and Revelations: Discourses on the Apocalypse. Edinburgh: Clark, 1911. Imported by Scribners. Pp. 265.

Mr. Dean has undertaken in seventeen lecture-sermons to set forth the permanent religious significance of the Apocalypse. While frankly accepting the modern historical method, he has sought to present a popular exposition of the book without

any express discussion of authorship, apocalyptic, and kindred themes. His discourses are of value as showing how the historical interpretation of the Revelation, unencumbered by critical apparatus, can elicit from the book the profound religious meaning of which it is full. Mr. Dean has given us a good example of historical interpretation practically applied.

WENDT, HANS HINRICH. Die Schichten im Vierten Evangelium. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1911. Pp. 158. M. 4.40.

Recent studies of the literary structure of the Fourth Gospel, especially those of Wellhausen, Schwartz, and Spitta, have led Professor Wendt to a fresh examination of the problem and a new expression of his views. After a criticism of the recent work on the subject of strata in the Gospel of John, he takes up the problem in his own way and produces a German text of the gospel in which the two strata are distinguished. A primitive gospel, consisting mainly of discourses and from the hand of the apostle John, has been expanded by a somewhat later hand into our Gospel according to John. The principal transpositions which Wendt favors are: 7:15–24, after 5:47; 15:1–17, after 13:1–35; 13:36–14:31, after 16:33. Students of the Johannine literature will find much to interest them in this new and concise study by Professor Wendt. It seems, however, to take no account of F. W. Lewis' recent work *Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel*.

ZORELL, FRANCISCO, S.J. Novi Testamenti Lexicon Graecum. (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae.) Parts 1–3: A–πρεσβύτερος. Paris: Lethielleux, 1911. Pp. 480. Fr. 15.

One of the most valuable features of the great *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*, now being issued by the learned Jesuits of Paris, is its Lexicon of the Greek New Testament, of which something more than half has just appeared. The meanings are, of course, in Latin; the articles are compact and clear, and, in general, a high standard of accuracy seems to have been attained. The proportions of the book are about those of Preuschen's recent dictionary. Unlike Preuschen's, however, Zorell takes account of the papyri and omits from his survey the Apostolic Fathers and the uncanonical gospel fragments. The work seems to be based, not upon a previous dictionary, but directly upon a fresh examination of the materials themselves. It constitutes, therefore, a worthy Catholic counterpart to Preuschen's recent work. At some points, of course, a Catholic bias will be detected, but, as a whole, the new Jesuit dictionary will be found learned, complete, and scholarly. It is an interesting and encouraging contribution to New Testament lexicography, which has been, in these days, so vigorously cultivated by Preuschen, Deissmann, and Milligan.

LAKE, HELEN AND KIRSOPP. Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus: The New Testament, The Epistle of Barnabas, and The Shepherd of Hermas, Preserved in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg; in photographic facsimile. With a Description and Introduction to the History of the Codex by Kirsopp Lake. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Pp. xxiv. Plates iii+296. $40.

Fifty years after its discovery the New Testament part of the Codex Sinaiticus makes its appearance in a sumptuous, full-sized, photographic edition through the skill and pains of Professor and Mrs. Kirsopp Lake, of Leyden. All students of the New Testament text will rejoice that this great task is accomplished, and these valuable materials for New Testament textual study may be everywhere accessible. The magnificent plates are preceded by an admirable collection in facsimile of the titles and subscriptions of the New Testament books of the manuscript, together with some other pertinent facsimiles for purposes of comparison. The preface contains an account of the discovery of the manuscript and gives a description of it. The only fault in this admirable edition is its failure to indicate by chapter and verse on each plate the body of text it covers. This is partly but not wholly supplied by a table printed on an extension at the end of the volume. Textual workers are under fresh obligations to the indefatigable Professor Lake for this new achievement.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

BENNETT, W. H. The Moabite Stone. New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. vii+86. $1.00.

A concise study of this famous monument, the sole surviving fragment of Moabite writing at present known. This little book is in reality a new edition of the author's article on this subject in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. To this have been added transcriptions and translations of the Siloam inscription and the Gezer Calendar. The book will be of use both to the specialist and the layman, rendering the text of the documents easy of access and gathering together within small compass the main facts known concerning their own history and their historical background.

ZWEMER, S. M. The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Africa and Asia. New York: Student Volunteer Movement, 1911. Pp. xvi+260. $1.00.

This volume presents in concise but attractive style a vast array of facts for the consideration of the Christian world. Whatever one may think of the author's point of view in general regarding the motive and reason for missions, we certainly are in his debt largely for the service he renders in acquainting us with conditions as to which we have too long been ignorant or indifferent.

SMITH, PRESERVED. The Life and Letters of Martin Luther. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911. Pp. xvi+490. $3.50.

This volume presents us with a very intimate account of Luther, the man. The emphasis is laid upon his character rather than his theology. A large amount of investigation has gone into the making of the volume and the result is a symmetrical record of the life of a great leader. While this book cannot supersede the great works previously published on Luther, it will yet be necessary in every historian's library because of the large amount of new materials it presents and the new points of view thereby suggested.

DENNIS, JAMES S., BEACH, HARLAN P., AND FAHS, CHARLES H., Editors. World Atlas of Christian Missions, Containing a Directory of Missionary Societies, a Classified Summary of Statistics, and an Index of Mission Stations Throughout the World. Maps by John G. Bartholomew of the Edinburgh Geographical Institute. New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1911. Pp. 172 folio. $4.00.

In 1902 the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions published a *Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*, prepared by Professor Harlan P. Beach of Yale, at the time Educational Secretary of the Movement. The present book is a revision of the work of 1902 prepared by the co-operation of the Student Volunteer Movement and Commission I of the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in June, 1910. The editors were able to avail themselves of the material collected for the Edinburgh Conference, but have extended the work to include on the one side Protestant missions to non-Protestant Christians, and on the other, missions of the Greek and Roman churches to non-Christians. Home missions, as usually understood, have not been included. The maps are excellent and the tables are doubtless as complete and accurate as it is humanly possible to make them. The book is of the highest value as furnishing a "Directory of Christian Missions" and an exhibit of the work now in progress for the extension of Christianity among non-Christian peoples and the promotion of Protestant Christianity among non-Protestants.

PROFESSOR CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY

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Editorial

ETHICAL RELIGION

Religion is practically a universal element of human experience, but it is by no means uniform in its elements or character. If there is any tribe or individual who is without religion, these are abnormal exceptions to a rule all but universal. But the conceptions of religion which men have held are very many and the forms of its expression innumerable.

With some men and in some periods the dogmatic element has been the dominant one. Religion has been thought of mainly as right thinking. The supreme effort has been to frame a correct creed, and those who have believed themselves to have succeeded in this effort, or who have inherited a creed that seemed to them to embody the truth, have endeavored to force others to accept it, under penalty of suffering persecution of one kind or another.

In other periods and groups of men all emphasis has been laid upon rites and ceremonies. Men might believe what they pleased and live as they pleased. So long as they conformed to certain ceremonial requirements they were in good standing with their fellow-religionists. To be right with God or the gods was conceived to be dependent upon the offering of sacrifices, the recitation of prayers, or other like ritual performances.

Again, the emotional side of religion has received an emphasis which has thrown all other elements into the background. There have been times when the conviction that men could "get religion" only by a great emotional cataclysm has so dominated men's thought that those who counted themselves religious appealed to such a past experience as the chief evidence that they possessed

religion, and the stress of all religious work was on the production of such experience in others.

Still again, there have been times and places in which the future has filled so large a place in men's thought about religion that it has almost resolved itself into a sacrifice of all the goods of this life in order to secure the joy of the world beyond—a good bargain in which temporary wretchedness was the price of perpetual bliss.

These conceptions are, of course, not mutually exclusive. They may be combined in various proportions and relations. Nor are they wholly erroneous. Each of them has its element of truth. Religion must have its intellectual side. Right thinking is essential to the highest type of religion. All false religions and all the false elements of religion have in them an element of wrong thought and owe their falsity in no small measure to this wrong thought. For the great majority of people, rites and ceremonies are a necessary expression of their religion, and a necessary aid to its nourishment. No religion can flourish without emotion. The expressions of emotion are as various as the keys in which hymns are sung. Some natures are tuned to one key, and some to another, but in all religion emotion must play a part. Nor can religion ever lose sight of the future, or altogether eliminate the element of prudent self-interest and sacrifice of the present for the sake of the future.

The fault of all these conceptions is not, then, that they are intrinsically false, but that they are on the one hand partial and on the other hand not essentially ethical. Because of their incompleteness, each one of them, treated as the central element or unduly emphasized, becomes vicious and harmful. For if the experience of men has proved anything respecting religion, it is that if it fully serves its end as an element of human life, it must not concern itself exclusively with any part of life, but must permeate all life. It must be an attitude of the whole man, toward the whole of life. The truly religious man has found out how to relate every phase of his own nature toward life as a whole.

A recent writer has defined religion as the attempt of man so to adjust himself to the outer world upon which he has found himself dependent as to make it favorable to himself. That has

meant in most cases the attempt to win the favor of his god. But as human experience has grown constantly wider, it has become more and more evident that God is not a being whom we can isolate from our environment, so that we can turn toward him and away from the rest of our world and win his favor in proportion to our indifference to the rest of the world. God is in the world, in every part of it, concerned with its every part, and demands the allegiance of every power of the worshiper. The attitude that wins the divine favor is, therefore, not an attitude toward God as distinguished from the world, but an attitude toward the world which is God's. "If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Religion that forgets the brother in the attempt to secure divine favor by worship fails of its own end.

But if experience condemns each of the views named above as partial and therefore ineffective, so also does it reject them because of their lack of ethical quality. As ethics without religion lacks depth and strength, so also does religion without ethics. But neither dogma, nor ritual, nor emotional cataclysm, nor prudent provision for the future are necessarily ethical. Religion achieves its full power as an elevating force in human nature only when taking in the whole nature of its subject it brings that subject into a truly moral relation to all related life.

Of course this is not to say anything new. It is but repeating the teaching that Jesus set forth when he taught men that true religion was to love the Lord God with the whole might, mind, and strength and one's neighbor as one's self. It merges ethics and religion by making religion an ethical attitude toward all sentient beings. It finds room for doctrine, ritual, emotion, and prudent self-interest, but unifies them all in a moral attitude of the whole nature to the whole environment, from the Almighty Father, supreme over all, to the lowest of his creatures.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MACCABEAN PERIOD

PROFESSOR W. G. JORDAN
Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario

It is good that the church should take an interest in the past and specially good when the present is so full of pressing questions and living issues. There have been times when the church has been prone to live too much on the past but those were not times when the significance of that past was most clearly understood; it was not the living past to which intelligent homage was paid but a dead past petrified into hard dogmas that was worshiped. In our own time it is from the men of "science" even more than from the theologians that the message concerning the meaning of the past has been expressed with greatest force. It is possible for us all now to take a large, comprehensive view of great world-movements, but even in earlier days men who had a living faith in Providence had a noble vision of the meaning of history—to the writer of Deuteronomy it was a divine discipline, to the Christian apostles it was a preparation for the coming of the Christ.

As a matter of fact there are no "periods" in any literal sense—that is, if the word "period" in any way suggests a separated, disconnected thing—the movement of history is continuous; but it is well to make divisions for the convenience of study and some of these divisions are very deep as in the case of the great catastrophe of the Exile and the life and death struggle under the Maccabees. It is well to remember that Hebrew history was a long and varied movement; it took a thousand years of God's providential guidance and of the toil of faithful men before the Jewish church received its final form and was prepared to stand the shock of "the Greek peril." That space of time can be instructively divided into many periods, each having a more or less definite character. Before 1000 B.C. we have two or three centuries devoted to the conquest and settlement of the new country, a time of disorder represented for us in the Book of Judges, and yet not destitute of growth and

efforts towards national unity. Then we have the formation of the kingdom; Davids' heroic reign; then the tribes are united under one ruler and Jerusalem gaining significance as the capital and a great religious center. That this work is limited and somewhat superficial is shown by the schism after the death of Solomon seventy years later. The two kingdoms run side by side for two centuries, when the northern nation, after a troubled life, weakened by the continual struggle of opposing factions, falls before the might of Assyria. Now Judah, a small and apparently insignificant nation, begins to come in contact with the great world-empires and such is to be its fate until it loses its national life altogether and becomes a scattered church among the nations of the world. We have now, therefore, in succession, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Persian, the Greek (divided into Egyptian and Syrian, of which latter the Maccabean is a part), and the Roman periods.

Thus one of the smallest nations came in contact with the great world-empires, and as it was tossed hither and thither it learned noble spiritual lessons, took them to its own heart with thankfulness and sometimes with pride, and finally enshrined them in enduring forms for the benefit of a still larger world of the future. Before meeting with these great powers God had graciously given to this people some centuries of comparative peace in which smaller enemies were conquered, an independent kingdom built up, and a measure of definite national and religious character achieved. Two great things we must note in the Assyrian period. At a time when there was danger from within on account of the breaking up of old tribal ties and a growing separation between rich and poor, the message of the prophets struck a higher ethical note and presented religion as social service rather than ritualistic display. At the same time the danger from without was interpreted as the judgment of Jehovah on social corruption and cruel oppression. The outstanding external fact of this period is the destruction of the Northern Kingdom in 721. Many of its people were deported and the newcomers helped to create in Israelite territory a mongrel nation. These tribes were "lost" in the sense that their natural independence was broken and their distinctive character was destroyed. They were "lost" in the sense that men are lost in the

great worldly throng through lack of an intelligent faith and well-guarded life. Individuals no doubt survived and clung to the noblest tradition from the past, but Israel in the old national sense was no more. Henceforth Judah must carry forward the divine message, bringing it to loftier heights by an enlarged experience. Through the work of preachers and lawgivers the religion came to fuller expression of the great divine truths that were working in it. In spite of worldliness and superstition heroic efforts were made to create a national church that would conform to prophetic teaching and avert the threatened judgment.

But in the following century the catastrophe came. Jerusalem was laid in ruins, its temple destroyed, and many of the noblest members of the nation transported to a foreign land. In far-off Babylon they faced the question, "How can we sing Jehovah's song in a strange land?" They faced that question for themselves and for us. If it be maintained that they never completely solved it and that Judaism remained forever a national religion, that is one of the true statements that needs qualification and explanation, because if we leave it in that hard form we may forget how far they traveled on the way to universalism. Many of them did learn that the true sacrifices are those of the heart and spirit. Many were conscious that they possessed a sacred deposit of truth that must outlast the power of those proud empires and that such truth must be in some form for the world as well as for themselves. The church that was built up after the Exile by those in Palestine and by noble blood from Babylon rested on hard legal lines but it preserved for posterity a literature that is rich in universal elements and is catholic in the truest sense. Such books as Job and Ecclesiastes and some of the finest poems in the Psalter and in Proverbs show that devotion to the Law had not stifled reflection and criticism. After the Exile, we are told that, instead of a nation, we have a church. This is true; but such a community cannot be called "a sect." Its home was in Jerusalem, though that was not at first the brilliant center of Judaism that it became in later times. Not yet did wealth, material and spiritual, flow into it from all parts of the world.

It was in that day of small things that Zechariah had the

splendid vision of "the city without a wall." But from the first, that is, as soon as the community began to recover from the shock of the Exile and to realize the value of its rich spiritual treasures it had in some way relationship with the great outside world that was likely to check mere localism. The Jew as a man of commerce, as a lover of sacred literature, and to some extent as a missionary, began to enter into the life of the world and to feel that Judaism was not confined to Palestine. The foreign customs and strange atmosphere of other lands could not doom the singer to perpetual silence and if the first note was a cry for vengeance on the cruel oppressor there were other and nobler notes to follow that had in them a suggestion of that mercy of God which is over all his works. Still we have to remember that the community in Judah is no longer a nation after the old style: it is small, gathered in Jerusalem and its immediate neighborhood, and its interests are civic and ecclesiastical, as it has become merely the section of a province of the great Persian empire. A specimen of Cornill's happy style in summing up such situations may form an appropriate quotation at this point:

> It is one of the greatest ironies of fate known to universal history, or, to speak more correctly, it is one of the most striking evidences of the wonderful ways which divine Providence takes for the attainment of its most important and most significant ends, that the final completion and permanent consolidation of the exclusive Judaism which sealed itself hermetically against everything non-Jewish and rejected sternly everything heathen, was accomplished and made possible only under the protection and by the aid of a heathen government, that the reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah, to use a modern phrase, hung from the sword-belt of the Persian *gens d'armes*, and yet the work was of God, and only thus could the religion of revelation be preserved. But for the energy of Nehemiah, the whole history of humanity would have run an entirely different course and therefore we too must look up to this man with gratitude and reverence to this day (*History of the People of Israel*, p. 168).

The man who brought the Persian dominion to an end, Alexander the Great, also did a great work in his own way; it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the significance of the victories that brought the Greek languages and Greek modes of thought into the East. The period beginning 332 years before Christ is one of the most important in the history of Judaism and of the world. Hebrewism

and Hellenism were to meet, mingle, and modify each other. At first this meeting was to be in peaceful, subtle ways, before that strange creature Antiochus Epiphanes provoked the dread conflict; but in whatever way the intercourse came about, it was fateful for all concerned and rich in its effects for after-ages. Not only did Greek influence act powerfully on the theologians of the early Christian centuries, but it exerted an immense influence on Christianity before it was born, if that expression can be allowed.

Confining ourselves, however, to the facts that bear more immediately on our subject, we have to note that within the Old Testament itself, in its latest stages, Greek influence was felt; the author of Ecclesiastes is essentially a Jew, but a Jew who has breathed the atmosphere of the larger world. Before our period also the Egyptian colony had increased and the Law had been translated into Greek for the use of that colony.

In the century and a half that intervenes between the conquests of Alexander and the Maccabean struggle, Palestine was in a peculiar position, between Egypt and Syria, a bone of contention between these two kingdoms that were ruled by the successors of Alexander. Thus the Jews passed from the rule of the Persians to that of the Greeks. The third century B.C. was on the whole a favorable time for the Jews. The first Ptolemy, the Greek ruler of Egypt, was kindly disposed toward them. The administration of affairs in Palestine seems to have been exceedingly mild and every encouragement was given to the Jews to settle in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt. This conduct, springing from a desire to attach the Jews to their new rulers, was imitated by the rulers of Syria, and the Jews were granted rights of citizenship in the new capital, Antioch.

But the political situation was unstable, Palestine was regarded as belonging naturally to Syria and the desire for "a scientific frontier" was the cause of differences between the two powers. At first the superiority was on the side of the Egyptian section of the divided Greek kingdom, on account of a succession of able rulers, but this changed toward the end of the century and Palestine passed to the Syrians in the year 198 B.C. The Jews welcomed this change; they even helped to bring it about, and were rewarded for their

loyalty by Antiochus III, who placed the affairs of the temple in a favorable position and granted to the Jews unconditional religious freedom. They looked eagerly forward to a time of peace and prosperity, but soon a change came over the spirit of the scene and they were engaged in a fierce struggle for their religion and their national existence. This brings us face to face with the Maccabean Revolt; the facts must be briefly stated and the spiritual significance of this conflict shown, so that we may realize how heroic the struggle was that saved the Jewish Bible and religion for after-ages.

Our brief space could easily be filled with a bare recital of facts and lists of dates, but that is not in accord with our present purpose; such material is easily accessible in the ancient sources—Josephus and the Books of Maccabees, or in quite recent histories; it is the significance of the period as a whole that is our chief concern. Hence the length of the introductory note, for once more the question arises, Can this people survive the shock of national disaster and hand down to later generations its rich inheritance from the past? So far as the Northern part of the nation was concerned it failed in this regard and a heavier weight of care and a larger measure of responsibility was thrown upon Judah. Because of greater cohesiveness, keener faith, and longer discipline this question was answered nobly in the Exile.

> If Israel had been merely a race like others it would never have survived this fearful catastrophe and would have disappeared in the Babylonian Exile. But Israel was the bearer of an idea; this was not to be annihilated with the state, and its eternal destiny was not closed with its political life. On the contrary, it seems as though only now, when the body was dashed to pieces, was the spirit really able to develop unhampered. The death that Judah died was a death suffused with dawn. While its sun seemed to set in eternal night, already in the east a new day was breaking, destined in the fulness of time to illume the whole world with its light. Israel went down to the grave with the hope of early resurrection, and this hope was not disappointed. Forty-nine years after Nebuzaradan, the Babylonian captain of the guard, set fire to city and temple, a burnt offering from those who had returned to the fatherland was again smoking to the God of Israel on the spot where the brazen altar of Solomon had stood. The flame that had consumed Jerusalem was for Judah a purifying fire; from the seed-field of the Exile, sown in tears, was to spring up a precious and immortal harvest (Cornill, p. 143).

The same thing as to its spirit might be said of the Maccabean period; we have once more the native religion victorious over the foreign spirit, we have an altar desecrated and later reconsecrated in spite of difficulties and in the midst of heroic struggles. Jewish communities have survived many persecutions since those days; those two great catastrophes through which their religion reached its highest form and displayed its eternal spirit made them proof against smaller attacks. A nation may be happy that has no history, but it is a shallow, conventional kind of happiness out of which there comes no great thing for the world at large. Israel's history has very few such hours of happiness; in the dark days that have recurred with tragic frequency through all the ages the leaders have looked back and drawn their inspiration from those classic times when the nation was saved from destruction and failure by the constancy of its sons and the faithfulness of its God.

We must review briefly the facts of the period. It may be treated as extending from 168, the time when the terrible struggle began, to 63 B.C., when Palestine passed under the control of the Romans. This again may be subdivided into three periods, embracing successful revolt and increasing power, 168–165 B.C.; religious freedom acquired, 162–142 B.C.; time of religious freedom and political independence. (See Dr. Riggs on *The Maccabean and Roman Periods*.) For our present purpose it will suffice to close the period at the year 135 which is marked by the death of Simon, the founder of the Hasmonean dynasty.

As we have seen, at the beginning of the second century the Jews hailed with gladness the advent of their Syrian rulers and had no presentiment of the dark days that were soon to come upon them. We have next a complicated story of wars and intrigues between Egypt and Syria and of internal struggles within the Jewish nation springing from greed of money, lust of power, and the factious opposition of different parties. It is a priest named Simon who called the attention of the Syrians to the temple treasures and denounced the pious high priest Onias as a conspirator. Onias must go to Antioch to plead his own case and his people's cause before the Syrian overlord at the capital. At this point there is a change of rulers; Antiochus Epiphanes comes upon the stage. He is "a

most fateful personage for Jewish history" and a riddle for historians. Whether he was not really malicious and corrupt but only whimsical and irresponsible may be a difficult question to settle, but it is certain that he caused untold misery to the Jewish people and exposed their religion to extreme peril. One has, however, to admit that a fair share of blame must fall upon Jewish leaders or men of that race who aspired to be leaders. One of the first acts of the new king was to depose the legitimate high priest Onias and appoint in his place Jason, a younger brother of Onias, who promised to give large sums of money and to pursue a vigorous Hellenizing policy. Thus the work of introducing Greek fashions was carried on under high authority and with increasing vigor. After three years the high-priesthood was given to Menelaus who made a higher bid of the same kind and who only succeeded in maintaining his position by murder and intrigue. A nation capable of producing high priests of this character would not seem to be capable of anything very noble and heroic, but the extreme hour has not yet arrived.

In 170 B.C. Antiochus was reported dead and the deposed Jason attempted to recover the high-priesthood by force. Though the attempt failed, it was treated by the Syrian king as an act of rebellion and severe punishment was inflicted on Jerusalem. Two years after this the ambition of Antiochus in the direction of Egypt was checked by the Romans, and the Jews had to bear the brunt of his bitter disappointment and anger. The statement of this tragic event cannot be put in better or briefer form than that in which it is given by Professor Cornill:

> And now Antiochus considered the occasion ripe for a master-stroke. On the 27th of October, 168 B.C., he issued the insane decree which was intended to exterminate Judaism root and branch. All the sacred writings of the Jews were to be delivered up and destroyed, the exercise of the Jewish religion was forbidden on pain of death, all the Jews were to sacrifice to the Greek gods, and the temple at Jerusalem was to become a sanctuary of Olympian Zeus. The abomination of desolation was actually established in the sacred place, and on the 25th of December, 168 B.C., the first sacrifice was offered there to Zeus—whether by the high priest Menelaus we do not know. The commands of the king were executed with unexampled severity and the subordinate functionaries of authority evidently took a delight in harassing and tormenting in

every imaginable way the Jews who were loyal to the Law; when one reads the account in the Books of Maccabees one is reminded involuntarily of the dragonnades under Louis XIV (Cornill, p. 192).

If ever revolt was sacred it was now. Thousands of devout men were called upon to die or lose that which was dearer than life. The first blow was struck by an aged priest, Mattathias, who certainly had no idea of the far-reaching effects of his stroke, when he called men to remain faithful to the Law and formed his "church of the desert." At first these stern devotees of the Law allowed themselves to be slaughtered rather than fight on their sabbath, but it was soon evident that they must modify scrupulosity by the power of common-sense or there would be none of them left. The old man, worn out in a little while by toils and battles, left behind him five sons, all strong, capable men. Judas Maccabaeus is regarded by many as the greatest warrior whom the people of Israel ever produced; he certainly accomplished wonders with the small means at his command. He shows what miracles can be accomplished by pure zeal and strong faith. Time after time he defeated large armies and outmaneuvered the ablest Syrian generals. Against fearful odds he gained all his great victories, and three years after the first sacrifice had been offered to Olympian Zeus, the 25th of December, 165 B.C., he consecrated the temple anew and removed the abominations of idolatry under the very eyes of the Syrian garrison. When Antiochus Epiphanes passed away, the war was continued in the name of his son, and another immense army was sent against the rebels.

Internal troubles caused the general Lysias to make peace with the Jews on terms which granted them free exit from the Sacred City and the permanent and unrestricted use of their religion. The high priest Menelaus was executed as the instigator of the whole wretched business. At this point, 163 B.C., the war might have ended if the Syrians had been more moderate and the spirit of faction among the Jews less bitter, as the main thing, namely, religious liberty, had been secured. The "pious" welcomed the new high priest Alcimus; but he was a Hellenist and wreaked his vengeance upon this particular party. Judas was then driven to fight for political independence, and after another brilliant

victory he was compelled to bow before the sheer force of numbers. Though defeated and killed he was not disgraced and he left behind him an inspiring memory. He was followed by his brother Jonathan, the real founder of the Maccabean state, who did his work more by skilful statesmanship than successful soldiering. When he fell a victim to treachery, his brother Simon received from the Syrian king Demetrius the full recognition of political independence. An attempt was made to recall this later, but the resistance of the Jews and the interference of the Romans made it impossible. We cannot linger over the tragic end that came to Simon and two of his sons; sufficient to say that his son John, surnamed "Hyrcanus," succeeded him and reigned with vigor and success for thirty years. The revolt had been from the military point of view a great success. Men who were rebels out of pure religious zeal were drawn into the whirl of politics, fighting for a spiritual religion. They founded a worldly dynasty which after a season of brilliance was broken to pieces by inward contradictions and outward circumstances.

What is the meaning of all this welter and confusion? Is there any clear light in it, or noble purpose running through it? It means many things; its lessons are varied and permanently useful. We see how impossible it is to compress a community into one narrow mold and shut out the modifying influences from the great outside world. It may be that among the Hellenists there were men of low nature who in the name of culture sought only the gratification of worldly greed and lawless pleasure; but there were others who saw that God's revelation was larger than even the noblest local traditions. Some students think that Antiochus was foolish in this respect, that he tried to do what the natural course of events would have done without his rude help, and that his bold blundering policy simply defeated itself. It is idle to speculate upon what might have been; we shall do well if we can see clearly the significance of what did really happen. Greek influence even in the debased form in which it was presented must have made real inroads, when we see what a deep cleavage there was in the ranks of men of Jewish birth and blood. Perhaps already the yoke of the Law had begun to press heavily, and some noble souls

longed for a larger citizenship. The matter is always complex; neither the Puritans nor the Broad churchmen have all the truth, and it is a hardship when brute force divides a nation into two hostile camps. We see how hard it is to organize the idea and how impossible to solve spiritual problems by material means. Cromwell's party sought to create a kingdom of the saints and ended by a policy of coercion that provoked severe reaction. Men do not know what the end will be when they begin a great movement. It is part of the tragedy of life that noble spirits are mastered by the course of events which they have sought to use and which master them. This movement was a revolt against the priestly faction as well as against the external oppression, and at the close a priestly dynasty was formed very largely out of sympathy with the spirit that gave birth to the movement. But the degeneration of a family is not the failure of a movement. A family may be a thing of two or three generations, but the idea lives on forever.

It is shown that the religious community formed after centuries of teaching and discipline can pass through another great baptism of blood without losing its distinctive life. The interests of this community are mainly religious, it desired not so much political independence and military glory as religious freedom. When the latter was gained there were many who lost interest in the struggle; they wished for a salvation that came from their God and were afraid to trust in soldiers even when these were their own brethren. The real representatives of the religion were not the corrupt rulers, the time-serving priests, nor the fiery zealots, but the men of the Book, those who desired to live according to the Law for which such great sacrifices had been made. Only by observing carefully the many cross-currents of this time of excitement and enthusiasm can we understand the definitely formed parties that come before us in the New Testament. Whatever elements of truth were possessed by other parties, the party from which the Pharisees sprang was right to this extent that Judah's real destiny and glory was in religion. For a while under the Maccabean dynasty there was military splendor and worldly success, but this was short-lived; it soon paled before the rising glory of Rome and the heart of this nation did not find real satisfaction in it. The real leaders

had a dim consciousness of the fact that they were preparing something more vital and permanent then the proudest imperial power.

One great product of this period is the Book of Daniel, a book that has been troubled and tormented by the most painful kind of exegesis, but that, set in its own historical framework, will begin to do its work more effectively. It pictures for us the Jew faithful to the Law in the midst of luxury and corruption. It shows him as the recipient of a revelation which brought a nobler wisdom than that of the world. Faith gives men courage to look into the face of kings and tread unflinchingly the path of duty. There is no fiery furnace or den of lions where God is not present to sustain heroic souls, and if need be give them deliverance. The martyrs have not lost the battle, even beyond death the arm of their God stretches to redeem and glorify. This is an ordered world, the cruel beast-like kingdoms may have their turn, but they dash themselves in vain against the divine Providence. The final, the permanent kingdom shall be the kingdom of the saints. Noble vision! how splendidly it stands out against the background of base intrigue and sordid greed. Such a book of faith can easily be translated into terms of modern life and minister once more to spiritual needs of men. The failure of the Maccabean period, in so far as it was a failure, shows us that the Kingdom does come from heaven. The idea of God's presence in law and life finds ever a fuller and richer expression. The imperfect victory preserves for us something that is imperishable, from the glorious past.

THE MINISTER AND THE BOY

II. AN APPROACH TO BOYHOOD[1]

ALLAN HOBEN
The University of Chicago

If the minister is to do intelligent work with boys he must have some knowledge of the ground plan of boyhood and he must believe that the boy both demands and merits actual study. Specific acquaintance with each one severally, alert recognition of individuality, variety, and even sport, and an ample allowance for exceptions to every rule will greatly aid in giving fitness to one's endeavor; but beneath all of these architectural peculiarities lies the common biological foundation. To know the human organism genetically, to have some knowledge of the processes by which it reaches its normal organization, to appreciate the crude and elemental struggle that has left its history in man's bodily structure, to think in large biological terms that include, besides "the physics and chemistry of living matter," considerations ethnological, hereditary, and psychological, is to make fundamental preparation for the understanding of boyhood.

For the family to which the boy belongs is the human family. His parents alone and their characteristics do not explain him, nor does contemporary environment, important as that is. His ancestry is the human race, his history is their history, his impulses and his bodily equipment from which they spring are the result of eons of strife, survival, and habit. Four generations back he has not two but sixteen parents. Thus he comes to us out of the great physical democracy of mankind and doubtless with a tendency to re-live its ancient and deep-seated experiences.

This theory of race recapitulation as applied to the succeeding stages of boyhood may be somewhat more poetic than scientific.

[1] In connection with this subject, the following books are recommended: Thomas, W. I., *Source Book for Social Origins*, The University of Chicago Press; Hall, G. Stanley, *Adolescence*, D. Appleton & Co.; Judd, C. H., *Genetic Psychology for Teachers*, D. Appleton & Co.

Genetically he does those things for which at the time he has the requisite muscular and nervous equipment, but the growth of this equipment gives him a series of interests and expressions that run in striking parallel to primitive life. If the enveloping society is highly civilized and artificial, much of his primitive desire may be cruelly smothered or too hastily refined or forced into a criminal course. But memory, experience, observation, and experiment force one to note that the parallel does exist and that it is vigorously and copiously attested by the boy's likes and deeds. At the same time the theory is to be used suggestively rather than dogmatically, and the leader of boys will not imagine that to reproduce the primitive life is the goal of his endeavor. It is by the recognition of primitive traits and by connecting with them as they emerge that the guide of boyhood may secure an intelligent and "well-supported" advance.

Such an approach favors a sympathetic understanding of the boy. To behold in him a rough summary of the past and to be able to capitalize for good the successive instincts as they emerge, is to accomplish a fine piece of missionary work without leaving home. Africa and Borneo and Alaska come to you. The fire-worshiper of ancient times, the fierce tribesman, the savage hunter and fisher, the religion-making nomad, the daring pirate, the bedecked barbarian, the elemental fighter with nature and fellow and rival of every kind, the master of the world in making—comes before you in dramatic and often pathetic array in the unfolding life of the ordinary boy.

Our topmost civilization, although sustained and repleted by this original stuff, takes all too little account of these elemental traits. In the growing boy the ascending races are piled one on top of another. In him you get a longitudinal section of human nature since its beginning. He is an abridged volume on ethnology; and because he is on the way up and elected to rule, it is more of a mistake to neglect him than it is to neglect any of those races that have suffered a long-continued arrest at some point along the way. Of course anyone expecting to note by day and hour the initial emergence of this or that particular trait of primitive man will be disappointed. The thing for the friend of the

boy to know is that in him the deep-set habits which made the human body the instrument it is, the old propensities of savage life are voices of the past, muffled, perhaps, but very deep and insistent, calling him to do the things which for ages were done and to make full trial of the physique which modern civilization threatens with disuse or perversion.

Let a number of the common traits of boyhood testify. There is the gang instinct which is noticeably dominant during the years from twelve to fifteen. Probably 80 per cent of all boys of this age belong to some group answering dimly to ancient tribal association and forming the first social circle outside the home. A canvass of the conditions of boy life in the Hyde Park district of Chicago revealed the existence of such gangs on an average of one to every two blocks, and the situation is not materially different in other parts of the city or in the smaller towns. The gang is thus the initial civic experiment for better or for worse, the outreach after government, co-operative power, and the larger self which can be found only in association. During this age and within his group the boy does not act as one possessing clear and independent moral responsibility. He acts as part of the gang, subject to its ideals, and practically helpless against its codes of conduct and its standards of loyalty.

One hot afternoon I ran across a group "in swimming" at a forbidden spot on the shore of Lake Michigan. As we talked and tended the fire, which their sun-blistered bodies did not need, one of the lads suddenly fired at me point blank the all-important question, "What do you belong to?" Being unable to give an answer immediately favorable to our growing friendship, I countered with "What do *you* belong to?" "Oh," said he, "I belong to de gang." "What gang?" "De gang on de corner of Fitty Fit and Cottage Grove." "And what do you do?" "Ah, in de evnin we go out and ketch guys and tie em up." Allowing for nickel-show and Wild-West suggestions, there remains a touch of a somewhat primitive exploit.

Another interesting gang was found occupying a cave in the saloon district of Lake Avenue. The cave takes precedence over the shack as a rendezvous because it demands no building material

and affords more secrecy. Beneath the cave was a carefully concealed seven-foot sub-cellar which they had also excavated. This served as a guardhouse for unruly members and as a hiding-place for loot. When in conclave, each boy occupied his space on a bench built against the sides of the cave, his place being indicated by his particular number on the mud wall. This gang had forty-eight members and was led by a dissolute fellow somewhat older than the others, one of those dangerous boys beyond the age of compulsory education and unfitted for regular work. They played cards, "rushed the can," and all hands smoked cigarettes. *Facilis descensus Averno.* The love of adventure and hunting was illustrated in the case of two other boys of this neighborhood who were but ten and eleven years of age. Having stolen eleven dollars and a useless revolver, they ran away to Milwaukee.

Much could be said of the love of fire which has not yet surrendered all of its charm for even the most unromantic adult. The mystic thrill that went through the unspoiled nerves of prehistoric man and filled his mind with awe is with us still. The boy above all others yields to its spell. Further, by means of a fire he becomes, almost without effort, a wonder-working cause, a manipulator of nature, a miracle worker. Hence the vacant lots are often lighted up; barrels, boxes, and fences disappear; and one almost believes that part of the charm of smoking is in the very making of the smoke and seeing it unwind into greater mystery as did incense from thousands of altars in the long ago.

This elemental desire to be a cause and to advertise by visible, audible, and often painful proofs the fact of one's presence in the world is also basal. It is the insistent compliment which noisy childhood and industrious boyhood ever demand from the world about. Even the infant revels in this testimony, preferring crude and noisy playthings of proportion to the innocent nerve-sparing devices which the adult tries to foist upon him. The coal scuttle is made to proclaim causal relation between the self in effort and the not-self in response more satisfactorily than the rag doll; and the manifest glee over the contortions of the playful father whose hand is slapped is not innate cruelty but the delight of successful experiment in causation.

So of the noise and bluster, the building and destruction, and even the torture so often perpetrated by the boy. He is saying that he is here and must be reckoned with, and he wishes to make his presence as significant as possible. If home, school, and community conditions are such as to give healthful direction to both his constructive and destructive experimentation, all is well, but if society cannot so provide he will still exploit his causal relation although it must be in violation of law and order. The result is delinquency, but even in this he glories. It often gives a more pungent and romantic testimony than could otherwise be secured. It is the flaring yellow advertisement of misdirected effectiveness. Probably there mingles with this impulse the love of adventure as developed in the chase. "Flipping cars," tantalizing policemen, pilfering from fruit stands are frequently the degenerate, urban forms of the old quest of, and encounter with, the game of forest and jungle.

Then there is the water, to get to which explains more than half his school truancy during the open season. It is a fine spring or summer day. The *Wanderlust* of his ancestry is upon the boy. The periodic migration for game or with herds, the free range of wood and stream, or the excitement of the chase pulsates in his blood. Voices of the far past call to something native in him. The shimmer of the water just as they of old saw it, the joyous chance of taking game from its unseen depths, or of getting the full flush of bodily sensation by plunging into it, the unbridled pursuit of one's own sweet will under the free air of heaven—these are the attractions over against which we place the school with its books, its restraint, and its feminine control; and the church with its hush and its Sunday-school lesson: and, too often, we offer nothing else. It is like giving a hungry woodchopper a doilie, a Nabisco wafer, and a finger-bowl.

If we could but appreciate the great crude past whose conflicts still persist in the boy's gruesome and tragic dreams, filling him with a fear of the dark, which fear in time past was the wholesome and necessary monitor of self-preservation; if we could only realize how strenuous must be those experiences which guarantee a strong body, a firm will, and an appetite for objective facts, we would not make our education so insipidly nice, so intellectual, so bookish, and so much

under the roof. A school and a school building are not synonymous, a church and a church building are not synonymous; schooling is not identical with education, nor church attendance with religion. It is unfortunate if the boy beholds in these two essential institutions merely an emasculated police.

If either the church or the school is to reach the boy it will have to recognize and perform its task very largely beyond the traditional limits of the institution as such, and with a heartiness and masculinity which are now often absent. In this field the indirect and extra-ecclesiastical work of the minister will be his best work, and the time that the teacher spends with his pupils outside the schoolhouse may have more educational value than that spent within. In due time society will be ready to appreciate and support the educator who is bigger than any building; and outdoor schools are bound to grow in favor.

Consider also the boy's love of paraphernalia and all the tokens of achievement or of oneness with his group. The pre-adolescent boy glorying in full Indian regalia, the early-adolescent proud in the suit of his team or in his accouterments as a Scout, and a little later, with quieter taste, the persistent fraternity pin—all of these tell the same story of the love of insignia and the power of the emblem in the social control and development of youth. Think also of the collecting mania, which among primitives was less strong than is ordinarily supposed, but which in early boyhood reaches forth its hands industriously, if not always wisely, after concrete tactual knowledge and proprietorship. So also with the impulse to tussle and to revel in the excitement of a contest; inhibited it explodes, neglected it degenerates, but directed it goes far toward the making of a man. Evidence of this intensity, zest, and pressure of young life is never wanting. Disorder, "rough-house," and even serious accidents testify to the reckless abandon which tries to compensate in brief space for a thousand hours of repression. Such occurrences are unfortunate but worse things may happen if the discharge of energy becomes antisocial, immoral, and vicious. "The evils of lust and drink are the evils that devour playless and inhibited youth."

Right conceptions of religion and education must therefore

attach an added sanctity to the growth of the body, since in and through it alone is the soul, so far as we know it, achieved. To accept the biological order as of God and to turn to their right use all of life's unfolding powers constitutes a religious program. For even those primitive instincts which pass and perish often stir into consciousness and operation other more noble functions or are transmuted into recognized virtues. Popularly speaking, the tadpole's tail becomes his legs. Success in suppressing the pre-civilized qualities of the boy results in a "zestless automaton" that is something less than a man. Everything that characterizes the boy, however bothersome and unpromising it may seem, is to be considered with reference to a developing organism which holds the story of the past and the prophecy of the future. To the apostle of the largest vision and the greatest hope, these native propensities will be the call of the man of Macedonia, saying, "Come over and help us."

The most striking biological change that comes to the boy on his way to manhood is that of puberty. The church and the state have attested the vast importance of this experience for political and religious ends by their ceremonials of induction into the responsibilities of citizenship and the obligations of formal religion. Among the least civilized peoples these ceremonies were often cruel, superstitious, and long drawn out in their exaction of self-control, sacrifice, and subordination to the tribal will. The sagacity of the elders of the tribe in preserving their own control and in perpetuating totemic lore must compel the unfeigned admiration of the modern ethnologist. The Athenians with their magnificent civilization exalted citizenship and the service of the state far beyond any modern attainment. The way of the youth today is tame, empty, and selfish as compared with the Spartan road to manhood and the Roman ceremonies attendant upon the assumption of the *toga virilis*. As a rule modern churches have too lightly regarded the profound significance of ancient confirmation services—Jewish, Greek, and Catholic. Knowledge of what transpires in the body and mind of adolescence proves the wisdom of the ancients and at the same time attracts both the educator and the evangelist to study and use the crises of this fertile and plastic period.

The process of transformation from childhood into manhood begins in the twelfth or thirteenth year, passes its most acute stage at about fifteen, and may not complete itself until the twenty-fifth year. It is preceded by a period of mobilization of vitality as if nature were preparing for this wonderful re-birth whereby the individualistic boy becomes the socialized progenitor of his kind.

The normal physiological changes, quite apart from their psychological accompaniments, are such as to elicit the sympathy of intelligent adults. Early in pubescent growth the heart increases by leaps and bounds, often doubling its size in the course of two years or even one year. There is a rise of about one degree in the temperature of the blood and the blood pressure is increased in all parts of the body. The entire body is unduly sensitized, and the boy is besieged by an army of new and vivid sense impressions that overstimulate, confuse, and baffle him. He is under stress and like all persons under tension he reacts extremely and hence inconsistently in different directions. He cannot correlate and organize his experiences. They are too vivid, varied, and rapid for that. This over-intensity begets in turn excessive languor and he cannot hold himself in *via media*.

His physical condition explains his marked moods: his sudden changes of front, his ascent of rare heights of impulsive idealism, and his equally sudden descent into the bogs of materialism; his unsurpassed though temporary altruism and his intermittent abandon to gross selfishness. He has range. He is a little more than himself in every direction. The wine of life is in his blood and brain. It is no wonder that somewhere about the middle of the adolescent period both conversions and misdemeanors are at their maximum.

To make matters worse these vivid and unorganized experiences, simply because they lie along the shore of the infinite and have no single clue, no governing philosophy of life, are overswept by the dense and chilling fogs of unreality that roll in from the great deep. Life is swallowed up in awful mystery. External facts are less real than dreams. One stamps the very ground beneath his feet to know if it exists. The ego which must gauge itself by external bearings is temporarily adrift and lost. Suicidal

thoughts are easily evoked; and at such times the luxury of being odd and hopelessly misunderstood constitutes a chameleon-like morbidity that, with a slight change of light and color, becomes an obsession of conceit. The odd one, the mystery to self and others, is he not the great one that shall occupy the center of the stage in some stupendous drama?

These bare cliffs of primal personality have not yet undergone the abrasion of the glacial drift nor of the frost and the heat, the wind and the rain of long years. They are angular, bold, defiant, and unsuited to the pastoral and agricultural scenes of middle life. The grind of life with its slow accomplishment and failure has not as yet imparted caution and discretion. Shrewd calculation and niggardliness too are normally absent. Generous estimates prevail. Idealism is passionate and turns its eye to summits that a life-time of devotion cannot scale. Honor is held in high regard and select friendships may have the intensity of religion. Judgments are without qualification. Valor, laughter, and fun, excess and the love of victory mingle in hot profusion. Except in the case of the precocious boy of the street, the cold vices of cynicism, misanthropy, and avarice—the reptilians of society—are found almost exclusively among adults. The *younger* brother is the prodigal. Experience has not taught him how to value property and the main chance.

The failure of self-knowledge and self-control to keep pace with the rapid changes of bodily structure, sense-impressions, and mental organization is nowhere more marked and significant than in sex development; and the common experience of adolescent boys is to the effect that no other temptations equal in persistence and intensity those that attend and follow this awakening. It is highly important, then, that as preparation for dealing with the individual, the minister shall both see the generic boy upon the background of the past and that he shall also understand in some measure the physical basis and psychological ferment of the boy's inevitable re-birth, not for the purpose of cheaply exploiting adolescence but in order that he may bring every life to its best in terms of personal character and of worth to the world.

TO WHOM WAS "EPHESIANS" WRITTEN?

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE
The University of Chicago

Marcion, who about the year 140 A.D. made a collection of Christian writings, designated the epistle we call "Ephesians" as a letter to the Laodiceans, mentioned in Col. 2:1; 4:13, 15 f. Harnack[1] has recently defended Marcion's testimony on the ground that it is the oldest extant tradition, and, further, because Paul's special interest in the Laodiceans appears from his mention of them three times in the Colossian letter. Marcion has had a small following, particularly among the older German critics,[2] but Harnack, in reviving the hypothesis, supplements it with an explanation of how the Laodiceans' name came to be removed from the letter. It appears from Rev. 3:14 ff. that the church in Laodicea fell into bad repute: "Because thou art lukewarm and neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of my mouth." Hence probably their name was expunged from the epistle, and, since no one ventured for some time to insert another name, the best texts remain defective at this point.

It may be of interest to place Harnack's suggestion into relation with current opinion upon the problem of the destination of our so-called "Ephesians"; and especially since Harnack's article seems to have appeared too late for Moffatt to note it in his recent *Introduction* except in the Bibliography.

There are two main reasons usually urged against supposing this letter to have been intended for the church at Ephesus, namely: (1)

[1] "Die Adresse des Epheserbriefs des Paulus" in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXVII (1910), 696–709.

[2] Cf. H. J. Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1892), 257. More recently, Deissmann not only thinks the letter written to Laodicea but that it was sent while Paul was in prison in Ephesus, *Licht vom Osten* (1908), 165. B. W. Robinson offers the same opinion in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXIX (1910), 181ff. So also Westberg, *Zur neutestamentlichen Chronologie* (1911), 84 ff. To be sure, many scholars have held Laodicea to be *one* of the places for which the letter was intended.

the inadequate attestation for "at Ephesus" (ἐν Ἐφέσῳ) in vs. 1; and (2) the absence of local color throughout the epistle. In two of the oldest manuscripts, Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ did not stand in the original copy. Basil, a church Father of the fourth century, did not find it in the oldest of the copies (ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων, *Contra Eunom.*, ii, 19). Still earlier Origen interpreted the passage without this phrase, and the same form of text appears to have been known to several later interpreters. Not even Tertullian seems to have read ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the salutation, although he emphatically claimed the epistle for Ephesus: "We have it on the true tradition of the church that this epistle was sent to the Ephesians, not to the Laodiceans. Marcion, however, was very desirous of giving it the new title"—he does not accuse Marcion of corrupting the text but only changing the title—"as if he were extremely accurate in investigating such a point." And then as if to dismiss a problem which could not be absolutely proved: "But of what consequence are the titles since in writing to a certain church the Apostle did in fact write to all" (*Adv. Marcion*, v, 17). Although the church generally said the letter was addressed to Ephesus,[3] probably this opinion did not start from the presence of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the text. It would be interesting to know just what effect Marcion's choice of Laodicea may have had upon his orthodox opponents in confirming them in their choice of Ephesus.

The difficulty of supposing this to be a letter to a church which Paul had personally founded, and with which he had spent more than two years, was early recognized even by those who read ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the text. To make the date of writing fall before Paul's visit to Ephesus was an impossible hypothesis even in an uncritical age.[4] Theories which connected the letter immediately with the Ephesian church, but more especially with some particular part of that church, or with some community in the vicinity,[5] were intrinsically more plausible, but they have now been generally dis-

[3] So the Muratorian Canon, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, *et al.*, and the title in all manuscripts.

[4] Cf. B. Weiss, *New Testament Introduction*, I, 339, n. 1.

[5] E.g., Paul was thinking of readers converted after he left Ephesus (Neudecker), or of a lately established church in the neighborhood (Lünemann), or of Ephesus, and other Asian churches (Beza, Grotius, Credner, Neander, Ellicott, *et al.*).

carded as unsatisfactory expedients. Nothing in the epistle indicates that the Apostle distinguishes between readers who are personally acquainted with him and those who are not; they are all assumed to be interested in his welfare (3:1, 13; 6:19–22) as he is in theirs (1:13, 15 ff.; 3:14 ff.), yet he can scarcely have had the Ephesians in mind when he questioned whether his readers had heard of the dispensation of the grace of God given him toward them as gentiles (3:2), or when he lacked positive knowledge of the quality of instruction they had received (4:21). Nor is he likely to have spoken of "having heard" of the Ephesians' faith and love (1:15), or to have closed with so brief and impersonal a farewell to a community where he must have left behind a host of friends.[6] Consequently the hypothesis of a circular letter, originally having no connection with Ephesus, has held the field in recent years.[7] As several churches were to read it in turn, no congregation was mentioned in the address; or else some obscure name, or names, early disappeared from the original. Ultimately Ephesus, the chief church of Asia, the probable place where the letter was early preserved and from which it was first circulated, gave its own name to the epistle. Notwithstanding the wide acceptance of this view at present it does not satisfactorily explain certain difficulties, the seriousness of which seems to be overlooked. Taking first that form of the hypothesis which omits any geographical designation in the original, there arises at once the problem of interpreting Paul's language: "the saints who are and faithful" (τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς). Usher's suggestion of a blank after "who are," to be filled in by the reader in different localities, makes it possible to understand the present text, but the theory has been quite generally discarded as too "modern." Merely as curiosities of interpretation we may cite Origen and Basil. The former rendered the clause as "the saints, those who are," that is, as God is called the "I am" in Exodus, so Christians are here called those "who are." Basil, in a more philosophical

[6] Rom., chap. 16, sometimes regarded as a note to Ephesus, stands in sharp contrast with the ending of Ephesians.

[7] Among adherents of this view one may mention B. Weiss, Zahn, Jülicher, Gregory, Lightfoot, T. K. Abbott, W. Lock, Godet, Bacon, McGiffert. Moffatt holds essentially the same view though he denies the letter to Paul.

vein, explained that Christians are here called those "who are" because they have true "being" by their union through knowledge with Christ who "is." The more recent explanations are scarcely more successful. Bengel took τοῖς οὖσιν absolutely, "those who are present" wherever Tychicus happened to carry the letter (cf. Acts 13:1, κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν=in the church that was *there*). Schneckenburger rendered "who are truly saints" (taking οὖσιν as equivalent to ὄντως). T. K. Abbott, in the *International Critical Commentary*, gives καί the meaning of also, "the saints who are also faithful."

All these interpretations seem unduly forced. Paul knows how to express himself clearly when he wishes to address one letter to several churches (II Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:1), and surely he would have been more explicit here had he designed this for a circular letter, whether to the churches of Asia in general or to specific congregations in Asia. It was his custom in other epistles to determine "those who are" more exactly (Rom. 1:7; II Cor. 1:1; Phil. 1:1; cf. Col. 1:1). Moreover, the personal note at the close of the letter (6:21 f.), the commendation of the readers for showing love for the saints, and Paul's remembrance of them in his prayers (1:15 f.; 3:14) are indications of a definite community in the thought of the writer. These features of the letter call for the mention of a particular locality (or localities) in the address. Nor is this a modern conviction only; it was also the feeling of the early copyists who brought the reference to Ephesus from the title into the text.

Two alternatives are left; either the original designation has been accidentally lost, or it has been deliberately expunged. P. Ewald's reconstruction of the text[8] to read "those who are beloved and faithful" still leaves the salutation hanging in the air. Where do these persons reside? is the problem still. One easily thinks of "those who are in Asia" (τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ; cf. II Cor. 1:1, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαίᾳ) as an appropriate reading, but it lacks any textual support. In fact, accidental loss of any term is doubtful in view of the relatively early and wide use of this

[8] *Die Briefe des Paulus an die Epheser*, etc., in Zahn's *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament* (1905), 15 f., 61.

epistle. Its influence upon the apostolic Fathers, as well as upon some New Testament writers, is very pronounced.[9]

On the other hand, a deliberate elimination of the original local designation has seldom been considered probable, since there seemed to be no sufficient motive for the act. It is too modern to assume that the lack of local color in the letter caused the removal of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ at a very early date. But is there any good reason for supposing that an original ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ might have been suppressed? This is the point at which Harnack's suggestion is especially helpful. Of the seven churches addressed in Rev., chaps. 2 and 3, Laodicea is the last and most severely criticized. If the exhortation to repent was not heeded (Rev. 3:19), the failure would be looked upon as an act of open disobedience to the Spirit, and the removal of the Laodiceans' name from all the records would doubtless seem to the faithful as a pious act in obedience to the Spirit's will. That the Ephesian church took the lead in this matter and rescued the Laodicean epistle from the condemnation pronounced upon the church is easily imaginable. Ephesus itself is not severely rebuked in Revelation, for it had already, through hatred of the Nicolaitans, established itself as the champion of orthodoxy (2:2, 6). But it is not strange that Marcion, himself a wealthy ship-owner from Sinope, should have been less severe in condemning the Laodicean church for its possession of much wealth. Moreover, he too had recently been placed under the ban by

[9] For verbal resemblances between Clement of Rome and Ephesians compare, respectively, 19:2 with 2:7; 23:2 with 4:8; 27:5 with 1:19 and 6:10; 32:3–5 with 2:8–10; 36:2 with 1:17 f. and 5:7; 38:1 with 5:21; 46:6 with 4:4–7; 46:7 with 4:25; 57:1 with 3:14; 61:3 with 3:20; 64:1 with 1:4. Between Ignatius and Ephesians compare, respectively, *Mag.* 7:1 with 4:3–6; *Phil.* 2:1 with 5:8; *Polyc.* 5:1 and 6:2 with 5:25, 29 and 6:11; *Eph.* Salut. with 1:19 and 4:13; also *Eph.* 4:2, 5:1, and 9:1 with 5:30, 5:1, and 2:22. Polycarp, *Phil.* 1:2; 10:2; 12:1, 3=*Eph.* 2:8 f.; 5:21; 4:26; 6:18. Hermas, *Mand.* x, 2, 5 and *Sim.* ix, 13, 5=Eph. 4:30 and 4:4. Direct references to this epistle are made by Irenaeus, *Haer.* v, 2, 3 and 14, 3; Clement A., *Paed.* i, 5, and *Strom.* iv, 8; Origen, *De princ.* iii, 5, 4; and all regard it a letter to Ephesus though probably on traditional rather than on textual grounds. Valentinus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1, 3, 1) quotes Eph. 3:21 as a saying of Paul, and the letter is in Marcion's canon. For the influence of Ephesians on I Peter (assuming this to be the chronological order), with I Peter 1:2; 1:12; 2:4; 2:18—3:7; 3:19; 3:22 compare, respectively, Eph. 1:3 ff.; 3:10; 2:20; 5:22—6:9; 4:9; 1:20. A whole set of ideas characteristic of Ephesians is contained in John, chap. 17.

orthodoxy, and it is conceivable that he and the Laodiceans may to some extent have shared similar heretical views; but he is not likely to have assigned a letter to this church on purely dogmatic grounds, nor is it probable he would have gone contrary to the current tradition merely because a Laodicean letter seemed to be mentioned in Col. 4:16.

As an objection to Marcion's tradition it has been urged that the greeting to Laodicea in Col. 4:15 makes improbable the sending of a letter at the same time. But why must Paul be so sparing of his greetings? It is more surprising that Ephesians contains no greeting for the Colossians, and still stranger that Epaphras, who had worked in Laodicea (Col. 4:13), is not mentioned; but we must not be too exacting. The Apostle's mood cannot always be run into the same mold. Philippians, for example, is addressed to a very friendly church yet the farewell salutation is brief and rather general.

To assume that Ephesians was originally intended for Laodicea does not remove all difficulties, still this hypothesis seems to have several advantages over any other solution yet proposed; e.g. (1) it is true to the earliest available external evidence; (2) it accounts for the textual history of vs. 1 and makes possible a natural interpretation; (3) it allows one to recognize the personal element in the letter notwithstanding the general absence of local color; (4) it gives a perfectly evident reason for the close resemblances between Ephesians and Colossians; and (5) thus it removes one of the strongest arguments usually urged against regarding Ephesians as a genuine Pauline epistle.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

IV. THE FUTURE LIFE IN THE JOHANNINE TEACHING

PROFESSOR ERNEST F. SCOTT, D.D.
Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

The Fourth Gospel takes the form of a historical narrative; and the evidence which it affords as to the life and teaching of Jesus is possibly of much greater value than many modern scholars have been willing to admit. According to the view that has become prevalent in the most recent criticism,[1] it is a composite work, recast and supplemented by a later writer, but resting on a document which must be dated considerably before the end of the first century. For our present purposes, however, the many and complex questions which constitute the "Johannine problem" may be disregarded. Whatever may be the elements of authentic tradition contained in the Gospel, it is now granted by the most divergent schools of criticism that the historical material has been subjected to a theological process. The Evangelist looks back upon the life of Jesus in the light of subsequent reflection, and gives us not so much a literal report of the events and sayings as an interpretation, in which he makes use of various conceptions that lay outside of the immediate scope of our Lord's message. We are thus justified in speaking of a Johannine theology, to which the teaching of Jesus, as we know it from the synoptic records, has been assimilated. In our estimate of this theology we have to take into account not only the Fourth Gospel but the so-called Epistles of John, which certainly originated in the same religious circle, although the question as to identity of authorship is still in dispute.

One fact appears to stand out clearly, the more we examine the theology of these Johannine writings. It is based, in all its essential features, on the teaching of Paul. The Pauline theology is

[1] Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Johannis;* Spitta, *Das Johannes-Evangelium;* Wendt, *Die Schichten im Vierten Evangelium.*

not, indeed, reproduced as a whole; and some of its most important factors are altogether neglected. Pauline ideas are blended throughout with others, derived from the Alexandrian philosophy, and are further modified by a peculiar religious mysticism. But the cardinal conceptions by means of which the thought of Jesus is interpreted are ultimately borrowed from Paul. We have here the explanation of much that would otherwise remain obscure in the Johannine doctrine of immortality.

Before considering this doctrine in its several aspects, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the needs and conditions to which it made appeal. Christianity had now cast in its lot definitely with the gentiles; and to the Greek world the ideas of Jewish apocalyptic were entirely foreign. We have already seen how Paul's message of the resurrection had been received at Corinth with doubt and misgiving. In the intervening years the difficulties which he encountered had become accentuated. Those conceptions on which the Christian preaching had originally based itself—the Messiah, the Parousia, the judgment, the raising of the dead—belonged to a world of thought that was wholly Jewish. They stood for hopes which could have little meaning for an alien people in a later age. It was the task of the Fourth Evangelist to lift Christianity out of the apocalyptic setting, and to express its permanent message in more adequate and intelligible terms. Even when the earlier conceptions are formally preserved, a new significance is attached to them. The Messiah is identified with the eternal Word, the judgment with an inward process of self-determination. All the beliefs which the primitive age had been willing to accept literally and realistically are now resolved into their spiritual essence. The Christian message is not replaced by another, but is only translated out of the language of apocalyptic into that of pure religious thought.

In his new statement of the doctrine of immortality the Evangelist takes his departure from the teaching of Paul. The earliest Christianity had looked forward to an enduring life which God would bestow on his people in the kingdom that would presently be fulfilled. Paul held to the accepted hope of the kingdom and the resurrection, but combined it with the idea of a super-

natural life which is even now imparted by the indwelling Spirit. In the Fourth Gospel this Pauline idea of life becomes central, and the hope of the kingdom is merged in it altogether. Christ appears no longer as the destined Lord of the kingdom, but simply as the Life-giver. "In him was life" (John 1:4). "As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself" (John 5:26). In virtue of his divine nature he possessed a life which was the same in kind as the life of God, and he came that he might communicate it to men. They could enter into such a fellowship with him that they would abide in him as the branch in the vine and participate in his life. The one aim of the Gospel is to bring men into this quickening relation to Christ. "These things are written . . . . that believing ye might have life through his name (20:31).

In primitive Christianity the new life had been conceived as something to be given hereafter; and this view persists even in the thought of Paul. He regards the flesh as a "body of death" from which we must be set free before the work of the Spirit can come to its own. But to the Fourth Evangelist the life imparted by Christ is a present possession. "He that heareth my word . . . . hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation but is passed from death into life" (5:24). "He that believeth in me hath everlasting life" (6:47). The great transition is effected, not by death, but by the act of faith in Christ—an act which involves the mysterious experience of the "new birth." This, as the Evangelist conceives it, is more than a moral regeneration. The man who is "born from above" undergoes a complete change of nature. The Spirit takes possession of him, and transforms the mere earthly life into something different in kind. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit is spirit" (3:6).

Like Paul, therefore, but in a manner still more explicit, the Fourth Evangelist regards the new life as a higher essence, which takes the place of the natural life. It manifests itself in works of love and obedience, and above all in a true knowledge of God as revealed in Christ (17:3). But in the last resort it is a new kind of life—the heavenly, spiritual life as distinguished from the

earthly. For this reason it is described by the constant epithet "eternal." The life which we have by nature is transient and finite, but through Christ we obtain a life which cannot end, because it is indestructible in its very substance. "I give unto them eternal life and they shall never perish" (10:28). "Your fathers did eat manna and are dead. This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die" (6:49, 50).

It belongs to this semi-physical conception of the new life that the Evangelist connects it closely with the sacramental observances of the church. The new birth is effected by "water and the Spirit" (3:5), by the communication of the higher influence in the rite of baptism. By participation in the Lord's Supper the believer is brought into union with Christ and receives of that life which resides in him. This is the obvious meaning of more than one emphatic utterance in the long discourse in the sixth chapter, consequent on the miraculous feeding of the multitude. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood ye have no life in you" (6:53). "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world" (6:51). It is indeed unjust to impute to the Evangelist the crude sacramental doctrine which had already begun to find its way into the thought of the church. Rightly understood his words contain a protest against it. He insists that the outward rite must have its counterpart in a spiritual process, and that the true communion is fellowship with the living Christ. Yet it is impossible to deny that he attributes a certain efficacy to the rite itself. By his conception of the new life as a kind of higher substance he was compelled to relate it to magical, sacramental agencies. It implied not only a moral, but, if we may so express it, a material change, which could not be effected except by miracle.

In the Fourth Gospel, then, the life which was formerly regarded as future becomes the present possession of those who believe in Christ. To the Evangelist, mere physical death is only a passing incident. The true death is that condition of darkness and privation which is ours by nature and from which we are delivered by Christ. The resurrection consists in the great spiritual change,

the "passing from death to life," which is accomplished in the believer here on earth. This is the ultimate idea that finds expression in the story of the raising of Lazarus. The miracle is a many-sided one, and we cannot sum up its whole significance under any one phrase or formula. But the chief key to its meaning is undoubtedly contained in the dialogue between Martha and Jesus (11:23–26). Martha declares her confidence that Lazarus "will rise again in the resurrection at the last day"; to which Jesus answers, "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." In other words, the belief in Christ is itself the resurrection. The believer can rest assured, even in his lifetime, that he has attained to immortality and that the death which overtakes his body is something passing and unreal. "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth, but I go that I may awake him out of sleep" (11:11). The raising of the dead man from his grave is meant only to illustrate and confirm, in a manner palpable to the senses, the true miracle which Christ effects for his people. Believing in him they have life, as a present possession which will remain with them forever.

This is the characteristic view of the Fourth Evangelist and is written large over his whole Gospel. We are surprised, however, to find it combined with another view, similar to that of the early apocalyptic teaching. "The hour is coming when all that are in the graves shall hear his voice and shall come forth—they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of condemnation" (5:28, 29). "This is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day (6:39; cf. 6:40, 44, 54). More than once the two different views are brought sharply together in seemingly contradictory fashion. "The hour is coming and now is" (5:25). "Whoso eateth my flesh . . . . hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day" (6:54). Various explanations have been suggested to account for this strange blending of opposite conceptions. Some have dismissed the apocalyptic references as additions forced into the text at a later time. Others are willing to

attribute them to the Evangelist himself, but regard them as nothing more than formal concessions which he felt obliged to make to the traditional belief of the church. These conjectures, however, are unnecessary: for while the passages in question are undoubtedly difficult, the contradiction implied in them is more apparent than real. While maintaining that the true life is imparted here and now, the Evangelist allows room for a fuller realization of it in the future. Those who have experienced the resurrection on earth will be made manifest hereafter. Christ will raise them up to an outward glory which will correspond with their inward possession of life.

The doctrine of the new body, which occupies such a central place in the teaching of Paul, is nowhere emphasized in the Fourth Gospel. To a writer who approached Christianity from the side of Greek rather than of Jewish speculation, it no doubt appeared of quite secondary importance, apart from the many difficulties which it involved. Yet there are indications that he accepted the Pauline doctrine, without altogether grasping its real purport. The new body, according to Paul, is to be different from the old—a "spiritual body," awaiting the believer in heaven. What the Evangelist seems to contemplate is a restoration of the earthly body. Those who hear the voice of the Son of God are to "come forth from their graves," soul and body being reunited at the last day. The story of the raising of Lazarus, while its main purpose is to reveal Jesus as even now the Life-giver, is meant also to be a sort of prophecy of the miracle he will perform hereafter. Lazarus arises in the body that had been laid in the grave, and its appearance is described in detail, to prove that it was indeed the same body and not another. In this connection, too, we may attach a special significance to the account of Jesus' own resurrection. The evangelist falls back on the tradition of the empty tomb, and is careful to affirm the identity of the risen with the earthly body. He tells how Jesus overcame the doubts of his disciple by pointing to the marks of the crucifixion, still visible in his hands and side. But while he thus insists that the body was the same, he implies that it had undergone some mysterious transformation. Jesus has become a spiritual being. He enters the

room where the disciples are assembled, "the doors being shut." The body, though it remains the same, has been changed into a finer substance and belongs no more to the material world. In the Fourth Gospel, therefore, we seem to trace the beginnings of that modification of the Pauline doctrine which came to be accepted at a later time, as the orthodox belief of the church. Paul had spoken of a "body of glory," a new and heavenly organism, in which Christ had risen and with which his people would be clothed hereafter. It was assumed by later thinkers that this spiritual body was the earthly one, with its gross elements transmuted and etherealized. Perhaps in the case of the Fourth Evangelist the cruder conception is not altogether due to a misunderstanding of Pauline thought. The belief that the true resurrection takes place in the present life seemed of itself to require that the new body should be identical with the old. There can be no repetition of the decisive change, accomplished once for all in the "birth from above." The dead have already passed through the resurrection, and need only to be awakened, as from a transient sleep.

One difficulty, which had perplexed the mind of Paul more than any other, has ceased to exist for the writer of the Fourth Gospel. Paul lived under the shadow of the primitive expectation that the Parousia was close at hand. From his earliest epistle to his latest, we find him pondering anxiously on the fate of those who might die before the Lord's coming. Would they pass immediately into the new life? Or would they be condemned to some interval of waiting, deprived of conscious existence until the general resurrection? The evangelist, writing a generation afterwards, when the hope of the Parousia had almost spent itself, is able to understand it spiritually. Jesus promises to return to his disciples, but not in a literal sense, with a retinue of angels. He will come back as an inward and abiding presence. The Holy Spirit which will dwell invisibly in the lives of his people, will represent himself and will be one with him. For the Evangelist, therefore, there could be no dark interval between the life on earth and that which will follow. The true Parousia, as he conceived it, was simultaneous with the Lord's resurrection. From that moment he had come again to his disciples, and as they held fellowship with him

in their lives they remained with him, uninterruptedly, after death. To this view of the Parousia there is one apparent exception in the memorable passage at the beginning of the fourteenth chapter: "I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you I will come again and receive you unto myself; that where I am there ye may be also." It seems here to be suggested that Christ has departed from earth to his Father's house, where he prepares an abode for his people. He will come back to them at some appointed time in the future, or perhaps at the hour of death, and give them a place with himself. The words, however, are purposely vague and elusive, and are susceptible of more than one meaning. While Jesus declares that he will return at some future day from his dwelling-place in heaven, he seeks to imply that he is ever present with those that love him. The thought of a local habitation to which he will welcome them merges in that of an inward communion, made possible for them even now. This becomes more and more evident in the light of the discourse that follows. Jesus tells the disciples that he is himself the way and the life. He promises to make his abode with them, and bids them abide in him (14:23; 15:4). He prays "that those whom thou hast given me be with me where I am" (17:24)—in the sense that they should hold continual fellowship with him and "behold his glory." Where the earlier teachers looked for a Parousia, which would mark the entrance of God's people on their inheritance of life, the Evangelist thought of Christ as already present. This inward presence of his in the hearts of his disciples is itself their life.

Thus in the Fourth Gospel the apocalyptic terms and ideas of early Christianity are preserved in form, but are charged with a new and deeper significance. The Evangelist sets out from the conception of a great crisis in which all things will be made new. Christ will return for the salvation of his people. He will raise up the dead to an eternal life, and will receive them unto himself, in the mansions prepared for them in his Father's house. But these traditional beliefs of the church are all presented in such a manner that we almost lose sight of their original meaning. The expected crisis becomes an inward and spiritual one. It takes place, not at some uncertain date in the future, but here and now.

Christ has returned already, manifesting himself to those that love him, and in him they have the resurrection and the life. The abode in heaven which he prepares for them is not a place but a spiritual condition, of enduring fellowship with God through his Son.

It is difficult to say how far this advance on primitive Christian thought was conscious and deliberate. We have the impression continually, while reading the Gospel, that the writer is anxious to make room for the earlier beliefs, and to combine them as far as possible with his own interpretation. He discards all material ideas of the new life, and yet assents to the doctrine of a bodily resurrection. Again and again he describes in terms of futurity the change which is realized, according to his normal view, in the present. He blends the local conception of the abode of the saints with a purely spiritual conception. The attempt has often been made to explain away these and similar inconsistencies, but it is better to accept them as belonging to the peculiar character of the Fourth Gospel. It is the product not of logical thinking but of religious sympathy and intuition. The mind of the writer is open on every side and can respond to aspects of truth which seem in themselves to be mutually exclusive. His own prevailing mood is to regard the new life mystically, as an inward state of communion with God. But he sees a significance also in the ordinary Christian view and allows a place to it in his teaching. The life on which we can enter now will have its true realization elsewhere in the future. These two sides of his thought are both reflected in a single verse of the First Epistle. "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is" (I John 3:2).

Like Paul, the Evangelist says next to nothing concerning the fate of non-believers. He indeed acquiesces, in a formal and incidental manner, in the common anticipation. "They shall come forth: they that have done good unto the resurrection of life and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of condemnation" (5:28). But the apocalyptic idea of a final judgment, which is here suggested, has in reality become meaningless to him. The

judgment, as he conceives it, is an inward process, consequent on each man's attitude to the light (3:18–21). In the absence of any clear pronouncement we can only conclude that the Evangelist was uncertain, in his own mind, regarding the destiny of those who stood outside of the Christian church. Consistently with his fundamental doctrine he could only infer that in their case the death of the body meant final death. But it may well be that he shrank from this inference, and fell back on the traditional beliefs of the church at large.

Dürer

JOHN AND PETER

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

A PROFESSIONAL READING COURSE ON JESUS IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

What can be known about Jesus, and what are we to think of him? Persons interested in this important subject will, it is believed, be enabled to use their time more advantageously by discriminating suggestions as to books and topics most worthy of consideration. In these pages for four successive months, beginning with October, 1911, SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, *of the New Testament Department in The University of Chicago, will outline a course of reading on this topic and discuss some of the best recent contributions of scholars to it. Questions for consideration should be addressed to the Editors of the* BIBLICAL WORLD; *inquiries concerning books and traveling libraries, to the* AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

II. THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS

The books selected for careful reading in this second division of the course are: Schmiedel, *Jesus in Modern Criticism;* Bousset, *Jesus;* and Sanday, *Life of Christ in Recent Research.*

The animus of the historical study of the Bible, and especially of the searching inquiry into the life of Jesus in recent years, is often misinterpreted. Many suppose the critical student to be either a heartless and ruthless invader of the sacred faith of the church, or intent on the devastation of her most precious possessions. There are, of course, extravagances of criticism, and there is pseudo-criticism, neither of which can be defended. But the animus of the critical study of the Bible and of Jesus is an endeavor to find the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Both Bousset and Schmiedel are writers of the first rank in the field of New Testament criticism, and have attracted special attention by their work in recent years. Both men represent essentially the same critical viewpoint, while differing in the details. In the work of Bousset the essential historicity of the gospel records is taken for granted and the whole field and course of Jesus' life is rapidly reviewed. Schmiedel's booklet consists of a single lecture and covers a limited field. At some points, to be considered later, the two men come together.

Schmiedel first asks, "Did Jesus ever live?" This question has really been asked with seriousness by critical students in recent years.

By a few it has been answered in the negative. Schmiedel answers with a strong affirmative. His answer involves a principle of study and its particular application, both of which have been so misinterpreted as to merit careful statement. The principle he states as follows: "When we make our first acquaintance with a historical person in a book which is throughout influenced by a feeling of worship for its hero, as the gospels are by a feeling of worship for Jesus, in the first rank of credibility we place those passages of the book which really run counter to this feeling. For we realize that the author's sentiments being what they were, such passages cannot have been invented by the writer of the book. Nor would they have been taken from the records at his service, if their absolute truthfulness had not forced itself upon him." In the application of this principle to the life of Jesus and its records he finds five passages which throw light on the character of Jesus as a whole, to which he adds four that have special reference to his character as a worker of wonders. These nine passages he calls the "foundation pillars of a really scientific life of Jesus."

Some critics of this method have perverted this position into the following caricature: "No one who is in sympathy with another person can tell the truth about him, or give an accurate record of his life and conduct. The truth can be told concerning a person only by one who has an antipathy for him." But, as Schmiedel says, this principle is the guide "of every critical historian in extra-theological fields." As stated by him and applied in a truth-searching spirit the canon is sound. Schmiedel's application has thus been much misunderstood. It must be interpreted in the light of three facts: (1) He was directing his remarks specifically to those who asserted that such a person as Jesus never lived. He was not thinking of those who accepted the gospels as authentic. (2) He singled out these passages for the explicit purpose of showing that there were at least a few sayings in the gospels which could not by any possibility have been invented, and are proof indubitable that the writers of the gospel records were describing a historical character. He mentions them with a thoroughly apologetic purpose. The statement is not intended in any sense to be a depreciation of the gospel record, for (3) he continues his building-up process until finally he accepts the gospels as essentially correct records for Jesus' life. The strict application of this principle gives us, he says, "nothing less than pretty well the whole bulk of Jesus' teaching."

There is one general principle which both Bousset and Schmiedel constantly follow. Instead of starting from the assumption that Jesus

was God and therefore human only in such measure and manner as God could be human and retain at the same time the plenitude of his deity, they start with the human side. For them Jesus is a true human being, and is therefore God only in the sense, measure, and manner in which God may be in the human life of Jesus. The validity of this procedure is beyond question. Jesus comes into our field of vision as a man. The indisputable fact is that we have to do with one who lived a life in human flesh. Every principle of sound logic and common-sense demands that we make this our starting-point in the examination and interpretation of the facts. This, indeed, was the starting-point of the New Testament itself, and if we are to understand its estimate of Jesus we must adopt it. We have no right to assume as true something which lies beyond proper verification and make the assumption a criterion for the interpretation of facts which come well within the range of human knowledge and experience. Induction, not deduction, is held to be the correct procedure here.

The second question which Schmiedel asks is whether Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah. This is a leading topic also of Bousset. In recent years this question has sometimes been answered negatively. It is contended that the Messiah of current Jewish expectation represented ideals so utterly opposed to the spirit of Jesus that to assign to him the claim to be the Messiah is to charge him with the most flagrant inconsistency. He could not have considered himself as Messiah in accordance with Jewish expectations. Nor could he have adopted the term without the content, for he could not then have been understood by the people.

Both Schmiedel and Bousset believe it to be a well-established fact that Jesus did claim to be the Messiah. Schmiedel contends that all the facts point in this direction. The prophecy of Jesus that he would return to earth on the clouds of heaven is, he thinks, certainly authentic. This can be explained at all only if Jesus thought of himself as the Messiah. His conviction of his messiahship rested, he continues, on his knowledge of himself as peculiarly intimate with God. He knew himself to be the child of God and therefore under the duty of standing between God and the people in this matter. This conviction grew on him, and had fully ripened at the time of the great confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi. The crucial point, Schmiedel thinks, for Jesus in arriving at this estimate of himself, the occasion for his final decision of the matter, was his conflict with the Mosaic Law. He found himself in the course of his life opposed to the law. For inner reasons he

was unable to yield to it. He knew that only God could abrogate his own law and no one but the Messiah had any right to announce its abrogation. His inner conviction compelled him both to abrogate it for himself and to announce its abrogation to others. He must, then, be the Messiah.

Bousset emphasizes the consideration that when Jesus wanted to speak to the people and lodge in their minds a correct understanding of his own self-estimate he had to use terms which would carry meaning to them. To transfer to them his own valuation of himself he had to use the highest concept they had. There remained to him, therefore, only the figure of the kingly consummator standing at the end of time as the popular imagination had painted it with its earthly colors. "Thus the messianic idea was the only possible form in which Jesus could clothe his inner consciousness; and yet it was an inadequate form; it was a necessity, and yet a heavy burden which he bore in silence almost to the end of his life: it was a conviction which he could never enjoy with a whole heart."

The contention of Bousset is the usual reply to those who deny to Jesus the claim to messiahship on the grounds that are indicated above. Schmiedel also makes Jesus' inner life and intimacy with God the source of his estimate of himself as Messiah. His suggestion concerning the significance of Jesus' conflict with the law is interesting, but it has not won general assent among scholars. Many think the conflict a consequence rather than a cause of his self-estimate.

Bousset reflects the prevailing temper of present-day critical study in insisting that the healing ministry of Jesus is to be explained purely in a psychological manner. The gospels describe him as the miracle-working incarnate Son of God. But in doing this Bousset thinks that they have left the field of the historical and entered the realm of dogmatics.

Both Schmiedel and Bousset agree that Jesus expected that he would return soon to set up the kingdom of God. Bousset expressly connects this with Jesus' self-designation as "Son of Man." Whether Jesus used this term of himself or whether it belongs to a secondary stage in the growth of the gospel tradition has been much discussed in recent years. Many have denied the term to Jesus altogether. Bousset does not agree with this opinion, but a part of its ordinary content he does deny to Jesus. He acknowledges that the term "Son of Man" carried with it also the idea of judge. This he denies expressly to Jesus. He says that it would have been inconsistent in him to have claimed it. He

never overstepped the bounds of the purely human, and could not have made any such claim.

But if, as both agree, Jesus did expect soon to return as the founder of the kingdom of God, it seems a bit of refinement not well supported to deny to the founder the office also of judge. Both regard Jesus as mistaken in his expectation, and there is no sound reason for denying that if he expected to be the founder he expected also to be the judge. In both, and in one as much as the other, he would be the agent of God and not acting on his own initiative. If founder, then naturally judge of who should enter and who should be rejected.

The effect of the unfulfilment of these expectations upon the permanent value of Jesus and his message is considered by both Schmiedel and Bousset. Both agree that the real heart of his message was not vitiated by his expectations of things that never came to pass, or the fact that he even said some things which were not realized. He really expected nothing for the future, they say, which was not a part of his own experience. The core of it all is that for him God was a living, present reality, a gracious father. "In the very heart of the gospel lies not the bloodless image of the moral law but the immovable conviction that the individual personal life has its goal and consummation in God." Jesus is of value to us beyond all others because his inculcation and illustration of the attitude of filial piety toward God is supreme. Schmiedel declares that he would not lose his piety, which he has attained under the tuition and inspiration of Jesus, even if he reached the conclusion that Jesus never lived.

The books are valuable in sustaining the conviction that in Jesus we have to do, not with a myth but with a man of flesh and blood; with one who was so great and brought God so closely home to the human heart that the wisdom and energy of the centuries since have been centered in the effort to fathom the depths of his life and to catch the inspiration of his presence.

The third book in this list is more comprehensive in its scope. In recent times scholars have attempted to interpret the historical Jesus in the light of the thought-forms of his time. The literature dealing with this subject has reached such proportions that it is now looked upon as representative of a "school" or "movement" designated "The Life of Christ Movement."

Sanday, the veteran New Testament scholar of Oxford, has in the present volume traced the rise of this movement, discussed its leading representatives and their works, and subjected their chief contentions to

criticism. His book, however, does not deal exclusively with this question, but is, as he says, a "composite" containing three lectures, two sermons, and three book reviews, which are all remotely connected with the main thought of the work. In the present review we are not directly concerned with this relatively extraneous matter.

What, it is asked, is the central thought, or starting-point, of this new approach to the study of Jesus? The answer is that Jesus was not a thoroughgoing independent, but that, on the contrary, he was greatly influenced by a certain type of thought, which, in his day, was widespread, namely, the eschatological interpretation of history, according to which the end of the age and the ushering in of the new, or messianic, age was to be attended by certain catastrophic, supernaturalistic events.

But why should this be a new basis of interpretation? Is it conceivable that facts so patent as to make possible such a theory have escaped the notice of the host of scholars on whose labors the current views rest? The answer to these questions is that it is only within the last few years that the materials for this theory, namely, the apocalyptic literature, have been available.

In our canonical Scriptures we have two specimens of this apocalyptic literature, namely, the books of Daniel and Revelation, but their true character and meaning remained obscure until they were studied in the light of the non-canonical apocalyptic books. Up to the middle of the last century only two of these books were generally known—"The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" in its later form, and the work now commonly called "Fourth Ezra"; printed as chaps. 3–14 of Second Esdras in our Old Testament Apocrypha. After 1850 there were brought to light the following: the Book of Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, the Assumption of Moses, the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Book of the Secrets of Baruch. The texts of some of these books were edited and translated by German scholars during the fifties, but it was only within the past two or three decades that they have been made accessible to English readers, through the painstaking work of Charles, James, and Rendel Harris. Even the Germans were slow to discern the important bearing which this large acquisition to our Jewish literature had on the problems of New Testament interpretation.

The first serious attempt to utilize it as an aid to New Testament study was made by Baldensperger, whose brochure, *The Self-Conscious-*

ness of Jesus in the Light of the Messianic Hopes of His Time, appeared in 1888.

Baldensperger's results did not differ widely from the commonly accepted outline of the life of Jesus, but it was a compromise "between the picture that came from a study of the Jewish contemporary writings and that which appeared to result from modern criticism of the narratives of the gospels."

Four years later Johannes Weiss published a pamphlet entitled *The Preaching of Jesus on the Kingdom of God*, in which he maintained that the eschatological sense in which Jesus used the term "kingdom of God" or "kingdom of Heaven" was the only sense in which he used it at all. According to this interpretation Jesus looked upon the kingdom as imminent, but not actually present; it was "at hand" in the sense that it was to be looked for at any time, probably in the near future, but just at what time he would not affirm. Moreover, a prerequisite to his coming was a general and genuine repentance on the part of all Israel. This idea was not original with Jesus, as may be seen from the pre-Christian Jewish literature. According to Weiss, this national repentance was not forthcoming, and Jesus, in order to precipitate the catastrophic introduction of the longed-for messianic age and kingdom, devoted himself to a violent and cruel death at the hands of the unrepentant Jewish leaders, to return, however, on the clouds, in power and glory and attended by the hosts of heaven. In short, according to Weiss, Jesus does not found the kingdom. "He only announces it. He exercises no messianic activity, but he waits with the rest of the world for God to bring in the kingdom supernaturally."

Several significant contributions followed the publication of Weiss's book, but nothing of epochal importance until 1901, when Wrede, of Breslau, put forward a new and radical interpretation of the gospels in his book entitled *The Messianic Secret in the Gospels*.

His theory is that Jesus was not regarded as the Messiah during his lifetime, his resurrection being the ground of this belief on the part of his disciples. Wrede's conclusion rests on such passages as Mark 9:9, the early discourses in Acts, and certain passages in Paul's letters. Wrede's chief task, however, is to explain the evident indications the gospels give that Jesus was regarded as the Messiah by his disciples and others. He thinks to show that this representation of the gospels is not historical but apologetic, that Mark's Gospel in particular gives us not a trustworthy presentation of the career of the historical Jesus,

but the view which the apostolic church held of him, namely, that since he had been shown to be Messiah beyond question by the resurrection, therefore he must have been Messiah before his death. But the early church had to meet the objection that he was not recognized as Messiah by his contemporaries, and was put to death shamefully. This it did by showing how, in various ways, Jesus kept the knowledge of his messiahship a secret, making it known only to the inner circle of his followers, except during the last week of his life. In support of this contention Wrede appeals to the following phenomena, which are strikingly characteristic of the Gospel of Mark, namely, the instances in which the demoniacs, who heralded Jesus as Messiah, were commanded to hold their peace; secondly, the commands given by Jesus to those whom he had healed not to make the matter public; thirdly, Jesus' efforts to avoid the multitude; and, finally, the reason assigned for Jesus' use of the parabolic form of teaching in Mark 4:10–12, which is that he did not desire the multitude to know the mysteries of the kingdom.

Sanday records with evident satisfaction the failure of Wrede's radical views to gain a wide and ready acceptance. Wrede's discussion has not been without influence, as may be seen from the following title, *From Reimarus to Wrede*,[1] a book from the pen of Schweitzer, of Strassburg, which Sanday regards as a notable production, and which, more than any other of those contributing to the "Life of Christ Movement," led him to deliver the lectures we are considering. It appeared in 1906, and presented a survey of the notable lives of Christ and attempted interpretations of Jesus, which have appeared during the last century and a quarter. Schweitzer, while not agreeing to any great extent with Baldensperger or Weiss, is himself an eschatologist and carries eschatology farther than any others of the school, for while they regard much of the teaching of Jesus as eschatological, he extends it to the life of Jesus, in which he finds three secrets—"the secret or mystery of the Messiah, the secret or mystery of the kingdom, the secret or mystery of suffering."

Sanday follows his survey of the literature of the "eschatological school" with a criticism of its views, and finally a discussion of the deity of Christ as affected by them.

The book throughout is characterized by the author's proverbially engaging style. There is probably no other source from which one can so readily acquire an acquaintance with the views of the advance guard of European scholars as he can from this product of one of England's leading New Testament scholars.

[1] Now translated into English under the title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. To what extent did the Jews of Jesus' day expect the Messiah to come miraculously upon the clouds of heaven?

2. What proportion of the first three gospels represents the "kingdom" as external, to be set up by Jesus' return upon the clouds?

3. What proportion represents it as a spiritual kingdom, to be established in the heart and life of the individual?

4. Which dominated Jesus, the ecstatic feeling of the apocalyptist, or the calm religious certainty of spiritual experience?

5. What place did ecstacy hold in the life of his first interpreters as in Acts, chap. 2?

6. If the "eschatological" and the "spiritual" interpretations of the kingdom as given in the gospels are to any extent incompatible, which is more likely to have been enlarged upon by the first interpreters of Jesus?

7. What influence did the resurrection faith of the first believers exert upon their belief in Jesus' messiahship?

8. How does modern religious faith in Jesus stand related to the early faith in him?

9. How far does Sanday succeed in showing that a partial acceptance of the views of the "eschatologists" is not incompatible with a belief in the divinity of Jesus?

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.*
N. Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth.*
O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus.*
W. Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Jesus.*
H. H. Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus* (2 vols.).
G. B. Stevens, *The Teaching of Jesus.*
R. H. Charles, *Eschatology.*
S. Mathews, *The Messianic Hope in the New Testament.*
E. v. Dobschütz, *The Eschatology of the Gospels.*
L. A. Muirhead, *The Eschatology of Jesus.*
E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah.*
H. B. Sharman, *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future.*
H. C. King, *The Ethics of Jesus.*
F. C. Peabody, *Jesus and the Social Question.*
S. Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus.*

Schweitzer gives a very valuable survey of the history of study upon the life of Jesus from the end of the eighteenth century down to 1906. For Schmidt, Jesus is a reformer like one of the old Hebrew prophets, and he made no claim to messiahship. Holtzmann represents views widely current today, according to which Jesus placed considerable emphasis upon his messiahship and predicted his return upon the clouds to set up the kingdom in the near future.

Sanday's *Outlines* is a reprint of the article on "Jesus Christ" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.* This makes Jesus think more in terms of spiritual religion, with less emphasis upon eschatology. Wendt and Stevens set forth an interpretation of Jesus' teaching along lines similar to those followed by Sanday. Charles gives a valuable compendium of Jewish ideas regarding the future life, the coming of the Messiah, and the like. Mathews finds that the apocalyptic messianism of the Pharisees was the controlling thought in Jesus' interpretation of his messiahship. Dobschütz takes a modified eschatological view that has much to commend it both historically and homiletically. Muirhead represents the same type of opinion. Scott presents a readable survey of the problem in its most recent form, and comes out with the eschatologists. Sharman, on the other hand, thinks Jesus was quite free from apocalypticism in interpreting his mission. King, Peabody, and Mathews discuss in an interesting way the ethical and social phases of Jesus' teaching.

Bloch

HEAD OF CHRIST

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF BIBLE CLUBS USING THE OUTLINE COURSES

In practically every gathering of ministers the question arises, "Should the pastor lead a Bible class?" Each man must decide this matter for himself. He who shrinks from leaving wholly to amateurs so important a work as the teaching of the Bible, may lighten his self-appointed task by making use of the Outline Courses of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, and following the plans for Bible-class work furnished in the BIBLICAL WORLD *Club Leader's Exchange under the direction of* GEORGIA LOUISE CHAMBERLIN, *Secretary of the Reading and Library Department of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, the University of Chicago.*

THE SOCIAL AND ETHICAL TEACHING OF JESUS

The aim of this month's work is to embrace both the theory of Jesus concerning the character of God and the way in which that theory pervaded his life and molded his action. Contrast is one of the most effective means of producing a vivid impression. As a background for this study, therefore, a full delineation of the conception of God current among the most religious people of Jesus' day will be valuable, for in that conception are found elements strongly contrasting with the teaching of Jesus.

Only the student who has vividly in mind the religious life of the Pharisees can appreciate the difficulty of the task of Jesus, the dangers which he encountered, and the reasons for the apparent failure of his work in the eyes of his contemporaries. It will be well, therefore, to make a careful historical study of the life and thought of the Pharisees a special preparation for supplementing the work of the class.

To understand the ideas of the Pharisees concerning God and Israel the development of thought in the preceding centuries must be rapidly surveyed—the contribution of each prophet to the conception of the character of God, and especially the changes which took place in the period after the return from captivity when the Jews were in danger of losing their identity by absorption in the nations around them. The members of the class will probably have the notion that the Pharisees were very wicked people. To show how people may conscientiously,

in the cause of the religion which they profess, do things which seem contrary to the spirit of that religion, let some members of the class look up stories of the Inquisition and of the Salem witchcraft. They will recognize in these and in other movements which may be suggested to them the dangers which have confronted people who have set themselves to correct the religious thought of their times or to think and to speak too far in advance of it. Let the class review with you the characteristic customs of the Pharisees concerning prayer, fasting, almsgiving, care of parents, sacrifice, feasts, fasts, vows, dress, the Sabbath.

A definite program which can be prepared by members of the class from the regular readings from the Bible may be (1) stories of the covenant-making God (early Old Testament); (2) stories of God as the protector of his people (Isaiah and Jeremiah); (3) Hosea's conception of God; (4) stories of God the lawgiver (Ezra and Leviticus).

Discussion: Does the authority of love as represented by parents and teachers produce a greater amount of moral conduct in your community than the authority of law?

After the preceding study the class is ready to appreciate the teaching of Jesus concerning the character of God as a God of love. At the second meeting, therefore, let them go back to Hosea and to the lesson of the book of Jonah to see how Jesus built upon the prophets, but went far in advance of them, fearlessly applying the hypothesis of the loving God to all life and finding proof in nature, human history, and his own experience. Fearlessness of the consequences of new teaching may be an expression of selfishness, and it may be an expression of the utmost unselfishness and sublime faith in the truth which one is seeking to teach. Let the class decide from which of these sources Jesus' fearlessness arose. Present clearly the revolutionary character of Jesus' teaching by showing in detail how it would affect the institutions of the Pharisees so carefully studied at the last meeting.

A definite program for this meeting may be (1) Sayings of Jesus concerning the character of God (to be given by each member of the class from memory). (2) A study of the beneficence of God as expressed in the common phenomena of nature. (3) In view of the fact that a loving God must hate evil which would harm his children, what should be the Christian's attitude toward such phenomena as war, intemperance, etc.?

Discussion: Can one thoroughly appreciate and believe in Jesus' theory of a loving God and fail to cultivate a character of love in his own life?

Some leaders may find that a formal program is too difficult a task

for young and inexperienced students. In such cases the discussion of the questions and filling out of question blanks as printed in the course books may be found sufficient work for the class, the time being more fully taken by the leader in giving background for the daily work.

REFERENCE READING

Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, articles on "Ethics," "Pharisees," "Nature and Natural Phenomena," "Father," "Love."

Hastings' one-volume *Dictionary of the Bible;* articles on "Convenant," "Ethics," "Pharisees."

Stevens, *Teaching of Jesus*, chap. i; Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, chap. i; Hyde, *Jesus' Way*, chap. i; Gilbert, *The Revelation of Jesus*, chap. i; Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Vol. I, pp. 33 ff., 184–210; Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus*, Vol. I, chaps. i, vii, viii; Edersheim, *In the Days of Jesus*, chaps. xiii, xiv, xv.

THE ORIGIN AND RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS

The books of Numbers, Joshua, and Judges are to be considered this month. Since the first two belong to the continuous narrative of the preconquest period of the Hebrew people, they may well constitute the topic for the first meeting of the class, leaving the Book of Judges for the last. In taking so rapid a survey of these books as this course necessitates, it is not well to attempt to draw religious lessons from the old stories of Israel's wanderings. To aid the class in getting an appreciation of the barbarous nature of the life of the times with its primitive ideas of Jehovah as a God of war and conquest, to note the Hebrews coming into relation with the Canaanites, and to discuss the points at which the Hebrews proved themselves superior to the people which they gradually drove out or absorbed is an interesting and profitable task. In order that each member of the class may participate in reports at the meeting, it will be well to assign the work of each day to a different person for special report. The presentation of the circumstances attending the finding of the Code of Hammurabi in 1901 and its later decipherment will open up the subject of the monuments and their contribution to our knowledge of ancient peoples (see extra volume, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, pp. 584 ff.). The leader may well make a comparison of these laws with the laws of Exod., chaps. 20–23, and call the attention of the class to points which show similarities and differences of ethical ideals. This will help to relate the Hebrews to their neighbors. At an appropriate point also information concerning the Greek and Roman

oracles may be introduced, and the similar office of Balaam the soothsayer discussed. The early ideals and customs of the Hebrews may be noted in the stories of the Book of Judges, more easily even than in the study of the five preceding books. Throughout the literature of this period the marks of antiquity and the similarity of Israel to the surrounding nations is much more interesting than the process of seeking for moral teachings. It will hold the attention of the class until a time when religious teaching is more evident. It should be remembered that these books, especially the Book of Judges, are almost wholly unknown territory to the average class. Apart from the stories of Gideon and Sampson few of the accounts are ever read, yet each episode makes its contribution to the composite picture of the social, religious and political status of Israel in this period.

A definite program for the first meeting may be: (1) stories not exceeding two minutes in length from the wilderness sojourn of the Hebrews by members of the class; (2) the representations of the Book of Joshua concerning worship; (3) the character of the conquest of Canaan as represented in Joshua. Illustration, the story of the fall of Jericho.

Discussion: What was the contribution of Moses to the religion of Israel?

The second meeting may consider: (1) the literary peculiarity of the Book of Judges; (2) the political, social, and religious life of the Hebrews in the period of the judges; (3) readings: Deborah's Song; The Story of Jephthah's daughter; (4) qualifications for leadership in the days of the judges; illustrate from stories; (5) the use of idols in the conquest period.

Discussion: The relative merits of the books of Joshua and Judges, (*a*) as history; (*b*) in religious teaching.

See paragraph concerning question sheets under the New Testament section above.

PEDAGOGICAL QUESTIONS FOR CLASSES OF PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS

1. To what extent does the idea of God which we have shape our lives?

2. In what respect did Moses idea of God differ from Abraham's?

3.. Can you think of any ways in which our own idea of God differs from that of Moses?

4. In teaching is it important that only the highest ideal of God should be communicated? *Can* such an ideal be communicated to children?

5. In the use of the Old Testament stories for teaching purposes how can we guard pupils against accepting as final, the imperfect ideas of God held by the heroes of the Old Testament stories?

REFERENCE READING

Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, articles on "Numbers," "Joshua," "Judges," "Canaan," "Balaam," "Amorites," "Og," "Amalekites," "Caleb," "Jericho," "Gibeon," "Eglon," "Moab," "Kenites," "Deborah," "Barak," "Sisera," "Gideon," "Jotham," "Abimelech," "Jephthah," "Sampson."

Hastings' one-volume *Dictionary of the Bible* also contains articles on all of these subjects.

McCurdy, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, Vol. I, chaps. iii, iv, pp. 152–62; Sayce, *Early Israel and Surrounding Nations*, pp. 246–332; McFadyen, *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 36–45, 62–70, 76–83; Century Bible, *Judges*, pp. 2–26; Kent, *History of the Hebrew People*, Vol. I, pp. 33–45, 49–83; H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, pp. 73–105; Wade, *Old Testament History*, pp. 135–212.

Current Opinion

Religious Education in England.—The religious education question is looming up in England again as the recent constitutional change affords the government an opportunity to carry out its program. The problem is peculiarly difficult from the practical point of view because, on the one hand, there is involved the question of religious liberty, and, on the other hand, the right of parents to have their children educated in accordance with their most fundamental religious convictions. But apart from the controversial aspects of the problem, whether political or denominational, there is a scientific aspect that ought to be more fully considered, viz., what actually constitutes religious education. Supposing that one could have schools as he wished, what would be really important in the interests of the religious development of the children? There are perhaps six elements in school curriculum and discipline which claim consideration:

1. Doctrinal instruction, including all theological definitions, such as the origin and nature of sin, the scheme of salvation, the significance of the church, its government and sacraments. Here belong most of the catechisms.

2. Biblical instruction, involving interpretation, as distinguished from mere reading.

3. Religious ritual, to which belong the reading of the Bible, singing of hymns, repetition of prayers, processionals, chapel attendance, participation in sacraments.

4. Direct moral instruction, in which questions of right and wrong are clearly stated and practically discussed.

5. The use of the regular materials of the curriculum with ethical and religious purpose.

6. The ordering of the life of the school in the interest of vital religious education.

Perhaps it is on the first of these that the most bitter religious controversy has raged. Without in any way controverting the opinion of those who lay strong emphasis upon the importance of doctrinal teaching, the question may be raised whether the periods of childhood and early youth are suitable for such emphasis. Must not the church as an institution make its impression upon the imagination of the child, leaving doctrinal explanation for the later years when philosophical interest awakens? If the church is able to enlist the child in its services, any abstract doctrinal teaching in the day school would be largely super-

fluous; if the latter is sought as a substitute on account of the failure of the former it is questionable whether it has any real value, even from the standpoint of its advocates.

As regards biblical instruction, the value depends wholly upon its character. If the simpler portions of this invaluable literature could be presented in accordance with the developing interests of the student, it would be moral and religious material of high worth. And if the mooted questions of revelation, supernaturalism, and miracle (really questions of doctrinal character) could be left for the maturer years, while story was taught as story, history narrative as narrative, Hebrew literature as literature, it would be possible to train reverent teachers to do this work in proper scientific manner. And the results ought to be highly satisfactory to everybody. Of course, it hardly need be added that the teaching would need to be in sympathy with the lofty character of the material. That applies to all teaching.

If it be true, as thus far contended, that doctrinal instruction, and biblical instruction, in so far as it is doctrinal, are far less important in childhood than current controversies imply, the same cannot be said of religious exercises in the day school. The educational value of these, when reverently conducted, is of the highest significance. Let it be repeated that we are leaving out of account the practical problems of method, and considering now only the educational interests that are involved. Habits of prayer, and praise, and worship in everyday life are more than all dogmatic instruction. Those who wish that children might every day sing great hymns, repeat simple and worshipful prayers, listen to the noble words of religious poets and sages, and engage in solemn ceremonial, have sound educational theory on their side. Whether this is possible in our modern democracies is another question.

The comparatively recent attempts to deal directly with the moral problems of youth are exceedingly interesting. Religious leaders have been altogether too contemptuous of "mere morality." Children have their own ethical standards, which must be sympathetically understood. On the basis of this understanding a strong positive moral instruction in the day school might meet many of the serious evils of our modern life.

There can be no doubt that far too little consideration has been given to the ethical and religious value of the ordinary subjects of the curriculum. The teacher who cannot find religious power in English literature would not find it in any literature. He who cannot see the meaning of the history of our own race would only misread the history of the Hebrews. And if science and mathematics do not awaken wonder

at the great laws of the universe, any teaching of God in the world is likely to be external. If it be objected that the ordinary teacher could not give moral import to these subjects, and would only substitute little preachments, the same objection holds against the specifically religious material. After all, the religious teacher is the real desideratum.

Least considered of all, yet most important of all, is the life of the school. If students can learn to live with one another and with teachers in work and play the greatest religious lessons are learned. It is easier to set lessons than it is to live. But only the latter is education.

An analysis of a problem is not a solution. But our educational controversies would be simplified if we could agree upon an analysis.

The Insurgent Sunday School.—It is always significant when the popular magazines discuss religious problems. They have a keen sense of what is interesting to their readers so that it may well be presumed that a matter which is thus popularly treated has passed beyond the interest of the few and is becoming of general importance. And, after all, it is the general acceptance by the "man in the street" of any new idea which is the final determinant of its truth and practicability. "Vox populi, vox Dei" is utterly wrong if it means that the judgment of the comparatively unthinking people upon new propositions is correct, but it is certainly true if it means that anything that is right and significant must ultimately approve itself to the common-sense of men. An article in *Everybody's Magazine* for October with the striking title "The Insurgent Sunday School" affords a new illustration of this principle. To those who have been interested in the subject of the improvement of the Sunday school during the last decade or more, it seems at first strange that such an article should need to be written. It seems as if ancient history were being treated as news. But, of course, it is news. Millions of people are still ignorant of the fact that the Sunday school is becoming transformed into an educational institution, and that it is worth the while of the most intelligent people to send their children and their youth, and to go themselves to the teaching classes of the church for help in their religious development. The article recites very clearly the struggle for graded instruction, the pioneer work done by the late President Harper and the late Dr. Blakeslee, and others, the organization of the Religious Education Association, the publication of the Constructive Studies and of other series, and, in short, tells the story so familiar to those who have been in the movements of modern Sunday-school improvement. Its publication is undoubtedly a sign of encouragement.

Exploration and Discovery

NEW PAPYRUS TEXTS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

Oxyrhynchus continues to supply biblical and patristic fragments to the student of the Septuagint and early Christian literature. Part VIII of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, which has just appeared, opens with nine theological fragments, five of them on parchment and four on papyrus. A bit of the Old Latin version of Gen., chaps. 5, 6, of the fourth century, preserves some verses not otherwise extant in that imperfectly preserved version. Two fragments of the Septuagint of Exodus (chaps. 31, 32, and 40) are of great interest for their early date, the third century after Christ. A curious fragment of Tob., chap. 2, exhibits a recension of that work unlike its form in Codex Vaticanus or Codex Sinaiticus, which manuscripts, it will be remembered, show different forms of the story. For the New Testament, a sixth-century parchment amulet is inscribed with Matt. 4:23, 24. A fourth-century papyrus contains Heb. 9:12–19, and a practically complete parchment leaf from a fourth-century copy of Revelation preserves parts of Rev., chaps. 3, 4, in a text very close to that of Vaticanus. On the back of the third-century fragment of Exod., chap. 40, a slightly later hand has written part of Rev., chap. 1.

Especial interest attaches to a fourth-century papyrus fragment of a gnostic gospel. It can only be conjectured to what gospel the fragment belongs; Dr. Carl Schmidt has suggested the partly preserved Gospel of Mary. Professor Swete suggests the Valentinian Gospel of Truth mentioned by Irenaeus. The text, somewhat amended, is thus translated by Dr. Hunt:

> He who hath hearing beyond his ears, let him hear: I speak also to those who watch not. Again he said to . . . . , Everything that is born of corruption perisheth, as having been born of corruption; but that which is born of incorruption abideth incorruptible, as having been born of incorruption. Some men have been deceived, not knowing. . . . .
>
> The disciples [ask him], Lord, how then can we find faith? The Savior saith unto them, If ye pass from the things that are hidden and into the light of the things that are seen, the effluence of conception [ἡ ἀπόροαι τῆς ἐννοίας] will of itself show you how faith that appeareth from (?) the . . . . Father must be found. He who hath ears to hear, let him hear. The Lord of all is not the Father but the Fore-Father [προπάτωρ]; for the Father is the beginning of what shall be. . . . .

Dr. Hunt's volume contains a considerable amount of classical material (nos. 1082–99), and 75 documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Work and Workers

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY

Caspar René Gregory is of French ancestry, being descended from a certain René Grégoire who came as an officer with Lafayette to this country and then married the daughter of a planter on the island of St. Domingo. The outbreak of the revolution in the island found the family established at Port au Prince, on the west coast, near which René Grégoire, the head of the house, possessed extensive estates. As he was about to take command of his troops, he fell dead, the victim, as some believe, of poison administered by political foes. His son, however, was hurried by his mother to the Port, and, orphaned and penniless, was brought by an American captain to the United States. Taken into the home of this captain in southern New Jersey, the boy, Caspar Ramsay Grégoire, naturally became a sailor, and all his days followed the sea. He made his home in Philadelphia, rose to be the captain of a vessel, and died, after a two hours' illness, in the cholera plague of 1832. The romantic but disastrous experiences of his early youth had prevented him from securing any considerable educational advantages for himself, but for his children he sought the privileges denied to him, and his son Henry, named Duval after Philadelphia friends, was educated at the University of Pennsylvania. Henry Duval Gregory was born in Philadelphia in 1819, and entered the university in 1834. He was a member and president of the Zelosophic Society; had the Greek salutatory at his graduation in 1838, and was elected to Φ.B.K. He taught in the academic department of his Alma Mater from 1838 to 1843, when he became professor of Greek and Latin in Haverford School, as it was then called. He remained at Haverford but two years; in 1845 he established in Philadelphia his classical school for boys, which he conducted until 1872. The elder Dr. Gregory's subsequent labors were as principal of Temple Hill Academy, Geneseo, N.Y., 1872–75; of Blair Presbyterian Academy, Blairstown, N.J., 1875–83, and as vice-president of Girard College, 1883–92.

It was in the second year of Dr. Henry Gregory's long Philadelphia residence that his eldest son was born, on November 6, 1846. He was named Caspar for his grandfather and René for his great-grandfather. Professor Gregory was the second of ten children, the eldest being a daughter. He was fitted for college at his father's school, and entered the Sophomore class at the University of Pennsylvania in 1861. Like

his father before him, he belonged to the Zelosophic Society, and was elected to Φ.B.K. He completed his undergraduate work at the University of Pennsylvania and received his Bachelor's degree in 1864. While hardly old enough for military service he participated with his classmates of the Senior and Junior years in the frequent drills which the university patriotically prescribed, being assigned to the ordnance corps, and was afterward a member of the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Grey Reserves, Company A. These drills at Pennsylvania aroused Mr. Gregory's interest in physical culture, and here as afterward at Princeton he entered into athletic sports with his characteristic enthusiasm.

After leaving the university, Mr. Gregory taught for three years in his father's school and in addition, in 1865–67, studied theology in Philadelphia at the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Presbyterian church. The years 1864–67 were thus divided between school and seminary in Philadelphia. In 1867 the prosecution of his theological studies led Mr. Gregory to Princeton. A glimpse of his life and labors there is afforded in the note prefixed to Dr. Hodge's monumental work on *Systematic Theology*. Under date of June 2, 1871, Dr. Hodge writes: "The author desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to his accomplished young friend, Mr. Caspar René Gregory, licentiate of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, for his assistance in carrying the work through the press." Mr. Gregory had been licensed by the Philadelphia Presbytery on April 12, 1869. It was in 1873, after six years at Princeton, that he went abroad, first to the British Isles, verifying there, as afterward in Germany, such references in Dr. Hodge's Theology as he had not been able to find in America. He then went to Leipzig, having in mind, at the instance of President James C. Welling of the Columbian University at Washington, to translate Luthardt's commentary on the gospel of John. The figure of Tischendorf must have been still large in the Leipzig horizon, and Kahnis, Delitzsch, Lechler, and Luthardt were among the professors. Harnack was just about to begin his career as a teacher. Not long before, Samuel Ives Curtiss, a Union Seminary man, had taken up his residence in Leipzig to study, and with Harnack and Curtiss Mr. Gregory's relations were ever after cordial. It was with Luthardt that he seems to have come into closest contact, and when in 1874 Luthardt brought out a new edition of his *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, he referred in his Preface to Adolph Harnack, and to a young American theologian, Mr. Gregory, whom he represents as contemplating the publication of a complete

bibliography of the literature on the Fourth Gospel. Mr. Gregory seems to have aided in the preparation of the extensive bibliographical lists that are appended to the book. At all events it was he who made the English translation, which appeared in 1875. Dr. Gregory afterward translated Luthardt's large work, *St. John's Gospel Described and Explained According to Its Peculiar Characteristics*, in three octavo volumes, and his friend Oskar von Gebhardt's *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*. Mr. Gregory took his Doctor's degree in Leipzig in 1876, making his thesis on "Grégoire the Priest and the Revolutionist." It must have been about this time that Dr. Gregory undertook on the recommendation of Professor Delitzsch, and at the solicitation of Tischendorf's literary executors, the preparation of the Prolegomena to the great edition of the New Testament (editio octava major) on which Tischendorf had been engaged. An apoplectic stroke had prevented Tischendorf from attending the Evangelical Alliance in New York, and practically terminated his labors. This stroke prostrated Tischendorf on April 5, 1873, and so it came about that Mr. Gregory never met the great scholar of whose chief work he became the continuator. The labors and travels involved in the carrying out of this work largely controlled Mr. Gregory's activities until its publication was completed in 1894. In 1878–79, Mr. Gregory was pastor of the American chapel, in Leipzig. Dr. Gregory became a *Privat-Docent* in the theological faculty at Leipzig in 1884. Up to this time he had returned to America but once since 1873, and that for a visit of only three or four weeks. It was on this visit, however, that he met Miss Lucy Watson Thayer, at the Andover home of her father, Professor Joseph Henry Thayer. The acquaintance then made was later continued abroad, and in 1886 they were married, Dr. Gregory making a flying trip to America for the purpose and returning with his bride by the same steamer by which he had come. From 1876–84, Dr. Gregory acted as sub-editor of Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, to which he contributed the bibliography published in each fortnightly number. In 1886 he was made honorary member of the Greek Philogical Syllogos at Constantinople. In 1889 he became Professor Extraordinarius, and in 1891 Professor Ordinarius Honorarius, receiving from the University of Leipzig the degree of doctor of theology. In 1894 the University of Pennsylvania gave him the honorary degree of doctor of laws, Yale conferred the same degree in 1901, and Glasgow the doctor of divinity in 1902.

Dr. Gregory's first great work was his *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's

Eighth Edition. His labors in preparing this book covered a period of eighteen years, 1876–94, the three parts appearing the first in 1884, the second in 1890, and the third in 1894. In this work he found it expedient to undertake numerous journeys to all parts of Europe: Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and England, in order to examine New Testament manuscripts. As a result of these researches, he was said "confessedly to possess a fuller first-hand acquaintance with New Testament manuscripts than any scholar now living." The scope and character of the work need not be gone into here. It includes treatment of the form of the text, the history of the text, uncial manuscripts, lists and descriptions, minuscule manuscripts, versions with lists and descriptions of the manuscripts representing them, and much associated material.

A second important work from the pen of Professor Gregory was his *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, the first volume of which appeared in 1900, the second in 1902, and the third in 1909. Meantime (1907), he contributed a volume on the *Canon and Text of the New Testament* to the "International Theological Library." Much of the material of this work, together with a concise introduction to the New Testament, appeared in a German *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* in 1909. The growing mass of New Testament manuscripts induced Professor Gregory in 1908, after consultation with a wide circle of scholars, to develop and publish a new system of manuscript designations, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*. Many other literary and technical tasks are in process of performance in Professor Gregory's study, which his intense application and systematic habits of work make a veritable workshop of learning. The chief of these projects is the critical edition of the Greek New Testament, proposals for which (*Vorschläge für eine kritische Ausgabe des griechischen Neuen Testaments*) were published by Professor Gregory early this year. It is his purpose in this work to provide a new critically constructed text of the Greek New Testament, and to accompany it with an extensive apparatus of manuscript readings, designed to replace the apparatus of Tischendorf's eighth edition, in which so much can now be supplemented or improved. Professor Gregory's keen and generous personal interest in a wide circle of students, colleagues, and friends adds to his labors a voluminous correspondence, and makes one marvel at activity so intense and incessant.

Professor Gregory's interests are by no means confined to paleographical or theological matters. Recently sociological studies and social

movements have greatly interested him, and he has been writing and organizing. A naturalized German citizen, he has taken the keenest interest in political matters, especially those of local importance, on one occasion devoting all of the election day to service at the polls and to getting out the vote.

Of Professor Gregory as a teacher, it is not necessary to speak here. Many Americans know the joy and inspiration of his teaching, and the fascinating interest with which he is able to invest what are too often considered the dryest matters, and many American students will bear witness to the ready sympathy and generous helpfulness he has shown them in Leipzig.

Professor Gregory's paleographical studies have made him a great traveler. Within recent years he has visited Athos and Macedonia (1902), Petersburg, Moskow, and Kieff (1903), Athens, Paris, and London (1904), Athens, Patmos, Cairo, Sinai, Jerusalem, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Odessa (1905–6), Petersburg, 1909 and 1910. Especial interest will just now attach to his visits in America, made in 1895, 1898, and 1901 for the purpose of lecturing before American seminaries and universities. A similar errand has brought Professor Gregory to America this autumn, and he is lecturing before upward of thirty institutions, besides undertaking special lectures for the American Institute of Archaeology in Canada and the West. Professor Gregory's present visit to America is the longest he has made to this country since he first left it in 1873.

Book Reviews

NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM

Recent movements in New Testament criticism have called forth from an English vicar a number of essays.[1] The subjects dealt with are somewhat miscellaneous in character. The more pretentious studies appear in the first part of the work and consist of a consideration of Schweitzer's interpretation of the eschatological question in the gospels, together with two discussions on "M. Loisy and the Gospel Story" and "M. Loisy's View of the Resurrection." These three topics, which have somewhat of a common bond, are followed by four others of a quite different character. The only justification for their inclusion in this volume appears to be that the author's productions are thus in a compact and convenient form. The subjects are: "Harnack on the Second Source of the First and Third Gospels," "Should the *Magnificat* be Ascribed to Elisabeth?" "Galatians the Earliest of the Pauline Epistles," and "The Problem of the Apocalypse and its Bearing on the Conception of Inspiration."

In dealing with Schweitzer the author, after a short introductory chapter, gives a clear and concise statement of the former's position as set forth in the closing chapters of his work *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. Having accomplished this, he proceeds to a trenchant criticism of Schweitzer's method and conclusions. This is one of the strong parts of the book and is excellently done. He points out much that is arbitrary and defective in method and protests strongly against attributing to Jesus the crude eschatology with which Schweitzer burdens him. The author admits the uncompromising and thoroughgoing position of the German writer, but insists that his solution is not a solution. "The Jesus of eschatology it is difficult either to admire or to love; worship him we certainly cannot."

The criticism to which Schweitzer has been subjected is no severer than that meted out to M. Loisy. Copious quotations are made from his works and his outline of the gospel story is sketched. He is criticized for his lack of taste and for the defects of his general position. He is charged with reading into the gospels more than the writers meant, he "misses the obvious," and is "*a priori* and subjective to a degree."

[1] *The Eschatological Question in the Gospels, and Other Studies in Recent New Testament Criticism.* By Cyril W. Emmet. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. 239. $2.25.

His view of the resurrection is dismissed on the ground that it would require a psychological miracle and as being inadequate to explain the facts.

The remaining chapters are of less interest and, at least in places, of less value. The study on Harnack is little more than a synopsis of *The Sayings of Jesus*, while the question of the ascription of the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth is a study in Textual Criticism which will appear to some to be drawn out beyond its merit. The conclusion reached is that "it will still remain probable that St. Luke intended Mary to be understood as the speaker of the *Magnificat.*" Galatians is placed as the earliest of Paul's Epistles because the situation in Galatia as to the insistence of the Judaizers on the necessity of circumcision would have been impossible after the Council at Jerusalem, since "the main outcome of the Council lay in the recognition of the fact that circumcision was no longer necessary." The final study deals with the character of the Apocalypse and its bearing on inspiration. Attention is drawn to the fact that the book is only one example of a literary type and that it was written to meet a specific situation and with a definite purpose, namely, to strengthen the Christians of the author's day in a crisis which he saw to be imminent. The Apocalypse indicates that inspiration is a subjective matter and that "revelation" is an internal, divine process.

The strongest parts of the book are the studies on Schweitzer and Loisy. The author's style is clear and his expression of thought orderly. The book is of value for its succinct statements of the positions of the first two writers who are criticized, and for its presentation in compact form of a number of studies the majority of which have real interest for the student of the New Testament.

ERNEST W. PARSONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD

Mr Speer's new book is of remarkable value—of extraordinary significance.[1] It was formerly the custom for Christian teachers at home and in "pagan" lands to speak of Christianity as the only true religion and worship of the true God, and of all other forms of religion as absolutely false or worship of devils. A careful and sympathetic study of other forms of religion has compelled the abandonment of this extreme,

[1] *The Light of the World.* A Brief Comparative Study of Christianity and Non-Christian Religions. By Robert E. Speer. West Medford, Mass.: The Central Committee on the United Study of Missions, 1911. ix+372 pages. Paper, 30 cents (postpaid 37 cents), cloth, 50 cents (postpaid 60 cents).

and many students have swung to the other, that all religions were very much alike in fundamental character, and their differences but suited them to the peoples and social conditions in which they were held. This latter view led naturally to the thought that it does not make any great difference what religion a man has, that Christianity is simply one among a number of pretty good ones, and that there is little need for Christian missions.

Mr. Speer's book furnishes incontrovertible arguments against both of these extreme positions and the conclusions from them. It is not primarily a textbook on comparative religion, and would be very inadequate for such a purpose, although exceedingly useful in connection with such a study, as it gives a view of the life which results from the prevalence of various forms of religion, which is almost if not quite as necessary in order to a true knowledge of them as a description of their faith and ritual. It does not aim to cover the field of the history of religion at all, but to consider the great religions of the world which still prevail, and oppose Christianity, and to consider them particularly, not in their historical, but in their present-day, forms. Sketches of their history and of the lives of their founders are given, as they are still of great importance in determining the influence of the religions today; but it is the practical estimate of the value of the religions today, rather than the theoretical interest in the principles of their origin and development, to which the main attention is given.

The religions described are Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and the religions peculiar to China—Animism, Confucianism, and Taoism. In the case of each of these the resemblances to and elements in common with Christianity are sought and carefully described, particularly so far as the author's own purpose is concerned, to furnish the points of contact for the missionary who must approve the truth which he finds in them, and build upon it, if he is to win their adherence to Christianity. Then the differences between these forms of religion and Christianity, and the immeasurable superiority of the latter, are most convincingly set forth.

The book might be described as a mosaic of quotations from a large number of sources (most of them very good, and including champions of the non-Christian religions and their adherents, as well as missionaries and authorities on oriental religion and language), cemented together by the thought and arranged according to the clear purpose of the author. These quotations give a large and peculiar value to the book, together with some defects which would be almost inevitable. Naturally the views of these religions, as presented, are not all con-

sistent, and the Christianity with which they are compared is something which varies according to the views of the various authorities quoted, something which is not accurately described or defined, and which is not the religion as it is generally practiced and held, but in its ideal form, to which no one since the time of Christ is even supposed to have attained. The book shows clearly that the author is not an expert in systematic theology or philosophy of religion, and it is therefore very fortunate that he does not attempt to describe Christianity too much in detail. But although the Christianity which Mr. Speer has in mind is not the actual but the ideal, the most of his comparisons of religions are not thereby invalidated, for he picks out for his specific contrasts features of Christianity which almost all intelligent people would agree are properly described as belonging to Christianity. The contrast of Christianity as "the religion in which God is seeking men" with other religions as those "in which men are seeking God," which is quoted with approval, is not the highest view which may be taken.

Altogether this book is a splendid, popular contribution to the study of religion from the most practical standpoint, one which might be readily used by either conservative or liberal, and the low price of which should encourage every minister and student to obtain and master.

E. Albert Cook

Congregational College of Canada
Montreal, Canada

COLLEGE MEN AND THE BIBLE

The value of a book many times depends upon the fitness of an author to write upon the given theme. Mr. Cooper's *College Men and the Bible*[1] has grown out of the experience of the author in promoting Bible-study among the college men of North America and the Orient. This experience has fitted him in a real way to give to the general public the results, *modus operandi*, and reasons of the far-reaching campaign for the study of the Bible by college men that has characterized the student movement of the first decade of the twentieth century.

The book is characterized by the author's breadth of spirit and outlook, his optimistic point of view, and an intense belief in and sympathy for his theme. He gives first a hopeful outlook on the student life of North America in its relations to this movement for the study of the Bible. Then we are given a glimpse of the students of India and of

[1] *College Men and the Bible.* By Clayton Sedgwick Cooper. New York: Association Press, 1911. xiv+195 pages.

China and Japan just as the author encountered them in his recent tour through those countries. These chapters are written in an interesting manner and hold the attention of the reader closely. One is impressed with the tremendous possibilities of this movement when once it gets a strong hold upon the mind and imagination of the college men of the world. The impression is left that this movement is still in its youth and that it will gain in strength and power with the passing of the years and the acquirement of the necessary perspective.

The author then gives a brief résumé of some of the methods that have given this movement its hold upon the student life of the nations. He says, "There has been a vision, but there have also been practical methods of embodying that vision." These methods are characterized by their adaptability and their closeness to the everyday life of students. Dogmatism is conscientiously avoided and each student group is given the privilege of working out plans that will meet its particular needs. The development within the decade of a long series of Bible-study courses designed to meet the needs of college men has been a notable achievement of the movement.

The closing chapters of the book deal with the values of Bible-study in individual life in relation to fundamental moral and religious problems. Here one finds in succinct form, drawn out of the experience of men, a practical apologetic for this Bible-study movement. Its relation to our modern problems is strongly emphasized. The saneness and reasonableness of the biblical approach to our fundamental verities is set forth with no uncertain note. The Bible is shown as the source of our great moral and spiritual ideals. It is revealed stirring the modern conscience and opening the modern soul. It is said to be the molder of modern thought and the inspiriter of modern movements. It is found in our college life, gripping men with these great ideas at the fountain-head of modern progress. Here is no second-hand action, but men are found individually and personally drawing from this great Sourcebook of the moral and religious experience of the race and then carrying this message with them to a hungry and thirsty world. One closes the book with a brighter and more hopeful outlook on the future of American college life. Men cannot go far wrong who face from time to time in a personal way the moral and spiritual values of this divinely accredited Book. Attention should be called to the happily chosen quotations at the head of each chapter and to the excellent bibliography of books relating to this modern Bible-study movement.

M. H. Bickham

The University of Chicago

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

BARTON, G. A. Commentary on the Book of Job. [The Bible for Home and School.] New York: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. xi+321. $0.90.

An excellent book for the general reader. The problems raised by a critical study of the book are frankly faced and freely discussed. The introduction is exceptionally good, being very full for so simple a commentary and at the same time very clear.

BROWN, J. History of the English Bible. [Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.] New York: Putnam, 1911. Pp. 136. $0.40.

A very skilfully constructed story of the making of the English Bible. The main course of the history is clearly conceived and concisely presented, so that any reader at the expense of a couple of hours may put himself in possession of the facts we all should know. Ten illustrations do much for the attractiveness of the book.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

BARTH, FRITZ. Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung. Vierte Auflage. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1911. Pp. viii+333. M. 4.80.

A new edition, not greatly changed, of a work which appeared first in 1899, and has been widely read. Barth deals with Jesus' teaching as to the Kingdom of God, Jesus' attitude toward the Old Testament, the miracles, his prophecy of the future, his death and resurrection, and his self-consciousness.

JACQUIER, E. Le Nouveau Testament dans l'Eglise Chrétienne. Tome Premier: Préparation, formation et définition du canon du Nouveau Testament. Paris: Lecoffre, 1911. Pp. 450. Fr. 3.50.

Abbé Jacquier, professor of Sacred Scripture in the Catholic faculty at Lyons, well known as a scholarly writer on New Testament themes, has produced a sketch of the history of the New Testament canon from its beginning to the present time. While he writes as a Catholic and frankly says that "for us Catholics the canon of the New Testament has been definitively closed by the Council of Trent," he shows wide acquaintance with Protestant works on the subject, and constantly cites them in an open-minded and intelligent way. This volume on the canon is to be followed by one on the text of the New Testament.

RÜCKER, ADOLF. Die Lukas-Homilien des Hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte de Exegese. Breslau: Goerlich & Coch, 1911. Pp. 102. M. $3.50.

Dr. Rücker discusses the text of Cyril's Homilies on the Gospel of Luke, adding some new textual material from Berlin Syriac manuscripts, and treats the New Testament text which they reflect (Alexandrian, and akin to Sinaiticus) and the somewhat allegorical character of their exegesis.

Gentile da Fabriano

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

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Editorial

JESUS AND CHRISTIANITY

Christianity is rightly so named. Viewed historically it arose in an epoch-making modification of the Jewish religion by Jesus who was called Christ. Whatever the evolutionary processes through which it has passed since, it has never ceased to profess and in large measure to maintain its loyalty to Jesus. Even its controversies have testified to this, in that they have in no small measure revolved about the nature and mission of Jesus.

Of this tendency the present day once more furnishes an illustration. The trend of theological studies in general is away from the New Testament. Only a few years ago the Old Testament was the storm center, and many were saying that it would soon pass to the New Testament. But instead the center of interest passed almost in an hour to dogmatics and to social ethics. But one question of New Testament scholarship refused thus to be passed over—the question of Jesus. Today, as repeatedly in the past, the problem of Jesus is in the forefront of Christian thinking, and the theological atmosphere is full of questions respecting him. Some, gifted with imaginative minds but deficient in sense for historical fact, are asking needlessly, Did Jesus ever live? Others, prone to cast their thoughts in the forms of the past, would revive the metaphysical discussion of the fourth century, or the Unitarian controversy of the nineteenth. Others, more sensitive to the tendencies of modern thought, are inquiring, What was the religion of Jesus? Was it a modified Pharisaic legalism, the current apocalypticism touched with some spiritual elements, or a purely spiritual ethicalism, the religion of Israel's ancient prophets freed from all

legalism, crass apocalypticism, and Messianism? What place did he himself fill in that religion? Is it the religion of Jesus in the sense that he himself preached it and taught others to worship as he worshiped and serve as he served, or in that he offered himself to men as the object of their worship? Is it a fixed datum to which men must constantly return, or a fresh starting-point in an evolutionary process, which, as it began long before the time of Jesus, so must go on indefinitely into the future?

What do these questions and this questioning spirit augur for the future of Christianity? Is it to have a career of ever-increasing power and influence until it becomes the religion of the world, or will the persistent inquiry into its origin and history, combined with the increasing recognition of the elements of strength and value in other religions, bring us to a time when Christianity will no longer even claim a unique place among the religions of the world, but will merge itself in the effort to discover or create for each nation, century, or generation the religion best adapted to its several needs?

The answer to this question depends in some measure at least upon the answer to that other question, What is Christianity? If Christianity is a certain doctrine concerning the nature of Jesus, metaphysically speaking, or the method of his entrance into human history, or even concerning his resurrection from the grave and ascension on high, then it is not easy to predict what its future is to be. The processes of historic inquiry will go on, however retarded by the natural reluctance of devout souls to have the beliefs which are intimately associated with their religion and moral life disturbed. There is not the slightest probability that the historic existence of Jesus will ever be subject to serious doubt. But neither is it probable that the sober verdict of reverent scholarship will coincide precisely with the beliefs that most commended themselves to Asiatic Christians of the second century or the fourth. Paradoxical though it is, to define Christianity as a fixed datum of doctrine issues in the demonstration that it is subject to the law of evolution.

But if Christianity is the religion which the New Testament warrants us in recognizing as the religion that Jesus believed in, practiced, and taught, or if it is that religion which since the first century has been in process of evolution, retaining amid all

changes its continuity, its essential identity, its name, and its loyalty to Jesus the Christ, then there is good ground for a reasonable forecast of the future. What it has been, it will be, a religion always in the making, always turning back to the great Master whose name it bears, to catch anew his spirit and the inspiration of his life and death, yet always reaching out to the future, assimilating new truth, adjusting itself to new conditions, conquering by its docility, vindicating its right to call itself Christian and its loyalty to Jesus, by its endeavor to put into action his teaching, and by its readiness to prove all things and hold fast the true and the good.

The religion of Jesus—Christianity if this be Christianity—was never so powerful an influence in the life of the world as it is at this hour. Evils enough there are to justify all the sermons that can be preached and the articles that can be written against the vices of Christian lands. But it remains true that the religion of Jesus is making its way with steady onward movement into every aspect of life. The intellectual interest in religion, which leads to persistent effort to define it in doctrinal terms, has its justification and its nobility. But nobler still and more truly expressive of the spirit of Jesus is the effort to find the noblest way of life, the relation to God and our fellow-men which his nature and ours demand, and which therefore makes for the highest, truest life. The earnest, persistent, even if only partially successful efforts, which men are making to bring the business of the world under the domination of the golden rule, the broad and ever-broadening interest of nations in the welfare of other nations, the Men-and-Religion movement, the progress of efforts for the abolition of war and the substitution of arbitration for it, are signs of the time which testify eloquently to the real progress of Christianity.

The determined effort to find out the facts about Jesus and his teaching, to go behind the fourth century and the second, and even the gospels themselves, in order to see Jesus as he was and religion as he saw it, is not the sign of a decadent Christianity, and if it were it would be outweighed by the equally determined effort to realize in personal character and social organization the ideals of Jesus. Christianity—the religion of Jesus—is not a waning but a mightily increasing force in the world.

A STUDY OF CHRISTMAS POETRY

PROFESSOR GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT
Dorset, Vt.

Jesus is the only man known to history whose birth has been widely celebrated through many centuries by poets who were among the first of their respective generations. For Buddha's birth, which might momentarily seem to offer itself for comparison, seeing that it has been embalmed in story and song for millions of our fellow-men, is hardly comparable after all, since the event in Kapilavastu which the angels celebrated was less important than the *new* birth under the Bo tree, and this in turn had been preceded by some five hundred and fifty similar births, all of which must be taken together in order to make the Buddhistic event at all worthy, from a literary point of view, to be put by the side of the birth of Jesus.

The mass of Christmas poetry, or *verse*, for it must be admitted that it does not quite all possess the quality of unquestionable poetic merit, is very large. The first recorded notes—the overture of the great and yet unfinished flow of song in honor of Christmas—belong to the close of the first century. Then, after a silence of some two hundred years, we begin to hear voices in the East and the West, singing in the Syriac, the Greek, and the Latin tongues, of the birth in Bethlehem. From Ephraim of the fourth century, who is said to have lived as an ascetic in a cave near Edessa, there are nineteen Christmas poems extant. The carols and hymns of the Middle Ages that celebrate Christ's birth are almost innumerable, and no century since the Reformation has lacked its abundant wreath of Christmas song. From Luther to Domett the succession of those who have attuned their lyres to this theme has been unbroken and distinguished. It is the purpose of the present article to note some of the characteristics of this unique section of the world's literature.

The centuries which gave us our earliest Christmas literature were in sore need of realizing the angelic announcement of "Peace on earth." They were ages of bitter controversy, when heresies divided Christendom into warring camps. The Christmas poetry echoed the conflicts of the times.

A quartet of writers is sufficient to give us all the various notes of the Christmas song in the ancient church from the historic council at Nicea to Gregory the Great. We will take Ephraim, the Syrian monk, who is credited with the production of three hundred thousand verses; Ambrose, the magistrate-bishop of Milan, who proved himself stronger than the emperor; Sedulius and Fortunatus, who shone as orators and poets, some of whose verses are still heard in the church.

Of all who have sung of the Nativity, in ancient or in modern times, Ephraim not only is the most voluminous but he also bears off the palm for wealth of thought. He is as rich in allusions to Old Testament history as Milton's *Hymn* is in its allusions to classical history and mythology. He seems to draw from an inexhaustible urn of illustration. There is also in his verse at times an ethical strain of singular simplicity and directness, as witness the following lines in the rhythmical prose version of Dr. Gwynn, of Dublin:

> That night is fair wherein the Fair One came to make us fair. Let not aught that may disturb it enter our watch. This night belongs to the Sweet One; let nothing bitter enter it. . . . . In this day of gladness let us not spread sadness. In this day so sweet, let us not be harsh. . . . . In this feast let each one of us crown the gates of his heart.

What Ephraim says of the Hero of his song is often only versified doctrine, which he hoped would, in this winged form, put to flight the swarming errors of the heretics, but sometimes it is noble and thoughtful. "Blessed be the Babe," he cries, "who made manhood young again today!" Once more, with a tenderness that we hardly expect in the austere hermit: "To whom art thou like, glad Babe, fair little One, whose mother is a virgin, whose Father is hidden, whom even the seraphim are not able to look upon?" Ephraim's fancies are often quaint and sometimes obscurely mystical. Thus he blesses the Child "in whom Adam and Eve were restored to youth," and continues: "Thou, O Son of David,

hast killed the wolf that murdered Adam, the simple lamb who fed and bleated in Paradise." And again, in riddling fashion: "Eve lifted up her eyes from Sheol and rejoiced in that day [Christmas], because the Son of her daughter came down to raise up the mother of His mother." But even when Ephraim is upholding the orthodox doctrine of the person of Christ, his verse is not always devoid of poetic charm. Thus Mary says to her child: "How shall I open the fountain of milk to Thee, O Fountain! Or how shall I give nourishment to Thee that nourishest all from Thy table! How shall I bring to swaddling clothes One who is wrapped around with rays of glory!" This thought of the contrast between the mother and her child has been a staple of Christmas verse from Ephraim's day to our own.

In passing from the Syriac songs of the Nativity to the Latin, there is a gain in literary form, but not in thought or feeling. No Latin writer of the ancient church approaches Ephraim in versatility, in human tenderness, or in originality. The hymn ascribed to Ambrose, beginning "Veni, redemptor gentium," has not one note of gladness or a single fresh line. It is a perfectly frigid versification of the current doctrine. Nor is there anything of a better sort in the verses of Sedulius and Fortunatus. The one thought on the Nativity that stirred either of these writers to utterances above the wholly commonplace was that of the contrast between Mary and her child. "He through whom not a bird is suffered to hunger was nourished with milk," says Sedulius; and Fortunatus to the same effect: "He who was the author of light endured being laid in a cave; he who with the Father founded the heavens, put on earthly garments." But this sort of Christmas verse does not take us to Bethlehem or Nazareth; it takes us into the atmosphere of councils and theological creeds.

The Christmas poetry of the Middle Ages is seen at its best in four writers, unless we place above these a sheaf of anonymous verse. Of these four poets, three were French and one Italian. All flourished in the period between the Norman Conquest and Dante. Hildebert was archbishop of Tours, Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Clairvaux, Adam of St. Victor, a famous teacher at the school of St. Victor near Paris, and Jacoponus, author of *Stabat mater*

dolorosa, and a Franciscan. All had poetic gifts, but all, in their treatment of the Nativity, were in abject bondage to church tradition. What they sang was a theological tenet, what they ingeniously adorned was a metaphysical subtlety.

Thus Hildebert sings:

> That blushing Flower, Flower angelic and blessed,
> Is changed to grass: God assumes our flesh.
> The Sun is covered with cloud, the Flower with grass, the Seed with hull,
> Honey with wax, the Purple with sackcloth, God with flesh.

This is simply Athanasius done into pleasing Latin verse. Bernard's lines are more melodious than Hildebert's, but hardly less theological. I venture to give two stanzas from this famous, and in some respects delightful, writer:

> Angelus consilii natus est de virgine,
> Sol de stella;
> Sol occasum nesciens, stella semper rutilans,
> Semper clara.
>
> Sicut sidus radium, profert virgo filium,
> Pari forma;
> Neque sidus radio, neque virgo filio
> Sit corrupta.

This fancy of sun and star meets us again in the poem of Jacoponus, each of whose twenty-nine Christmas stanzas ends with words in praise of Mary.

The seven Christmas hymns of Adam of St. Victor, who is called by one too ardent admirer the "Schiller of the Middle Ages," add somewhat to the conceits of earlier writers, as when Mary is said to have been the "bush unconsumed" and when Nature is said to have trembled at the birth of Jesus because that birth overthrew all law; but the general line of thought is strictly conventional.

It is in the anonymous Christmas songs of the Middle Ages that we find most of freshness and of human feeling. What a relief, after centuries of artificial poetizing on the Nativity, to come upon these lines:

> Joseph, da faeni manipulum
> Ut sternam filio lectulum;

or the dialogue of Joseph and Mary in the *Coventry Miracle Play:*

Mary: Ah, Joseph, my husband, my child waxeth cold,
And we have no fire to warm him with.

Joseph: Now in my arms I shall him fold,
King of all kings by field and frith.

Mary: Now, Joseph my husband, fetch hither my child,
The Maker of man and high King of bliss.

Joseph: That shall be done anon, Mary so mild,
For the breathing of these beasts hath warmed him well, I-wiss.

The fancy of this last line is found in very many Christmas songs.

With Martin Luther came a new note into Christmas poetry—a note which was perhaps due to the fact that, although he was a monk, he took unto him a wife and became the father of a family. So now for the first time we have a Christmas poem for *children.* True, it is not all level to the mind of a child: it contains some high doctrine; but still there is about it a charm as of the springtime, a simplicity and directness, a genial human sentiment and joyous admiration hitherto unknown. Of the more than one hundred and fifty Christmas hymns of Germany in the sixteenth century this is certainly the crown, and in this there are at least three stanzas which every lover of Christmas literature should know in the original. Much of their tender feeling and musical charm would be lost in translation.

Und wär die Welt vielmal so weit,
Von Edelstein und Gold bereit,
So wär sie doch dir viel zu klein,
Zu sein ein enges Wiegelein.

Der Sammet und die Seide dein,
Das ist grob Heu und Windelein,
Drauf du, König, so gross und reich,
Herprangst als wärs dein Himmelreich.

Ach, mein herzliebes Jesulein,
Mach dir ein rein sanft Bettelein,
Zu ruhn in meines Herzens Schrein,
Dass ich nimmer vergesse dein.

These verses in their unconventional and untheological character are the forerunners of a class of Christmas poems which stand in

strong contrast with the ancient and mediaeval poetry on the Nativity. In all the period from Luther to the present, but especially during the past century, we find in this department of literature two clearly marked types. There is, first, the poem that is still dominated by the early Greek conception of the person of Jesus. This type may be seen in its stiffness and artificialty in the verses of Ben Jonson, or presented with more of grace and melody in our day by the Bishop of Truro. It is found associated with much quaintness in the poem of William Drummond, to whom we owe these lines:

> O than the fairest day, thrice fairer night!
> Mild creatures in whose warm crib now lies
> That heaven-sent youngling, holy-maid-born wight,
> Midst, end, beginning of our prophecies;

and again it is seen in the Christmas verse of Christina G. Rossetti, for instance in this stanza:

> Born in a stable,
> Cradled in a manger
> In the world His hands had made,
> Born a stranger.

We find it in the devotional lines of Keble and in the carol of Aubrey de Vere, and notably in such lyrists as Charles Wesley, Heber, and Cecil Alexander. It is seen at its highest in what Milton called his "tedious song" but what others have regarded as the most splendid Christmas hymn in any language. For the "heaven-born Child" of this hymn is the "great master" of Nature; the glimmering orbs stood still at his birth and so remained until he bade them go; he is the "mighty Pan" who is kindly come to live with the shepherds; and he, even in his swaddling bands, controlled the "damnèd crew" of heathen gods. Thus the author's fundamental thought is the same that had dominated Christmas poetry for a thousand years prior to his day.

The other type of Christmas song, of which Luther's stanzas are to a degree illustrative, is characteristic of the modern age. Writers whose verses belong to this type bow indeed before Jesus, but they have broken with the traditional view of his person. They care little for Greek Christology, much for the spirit of the

Master. Their verses are also largely uncolored by the New Testament stories of the Nativity.

The carol of Phillips Brooks plays on the theme that "mankind are the children of God." The central note of Whittier's *Carmen* is love and peace, and its refrain sweeps from out the immemorial past forward to the final consummation:

> Rise, Hope of the ages, arise like the sun,
> All speech flow to music, all hearts beat as one.

This modern type is seen also in Domett and Sears and a number of others. Domett's *Christmas Hymn* combines the charm of a high order of verse with essential historical truth—a combination quite unknown to the Christmas poetry of earlier centuries. And the four stanzas of Sears, though devoid of a single direct reference to the Christmas Child, are most worthy of the day of joy.

This later type of Christmas poetry, which has escaped from the trammels of early theology and which finds its inspiration in the realities of history, gives promise of fulfilling the true end of Christmas song more perfectly than has yet been done, if indeed that end be, as is here assumed, to kindle in the successive generations of men an intelligent and joyous devotion to the Master and to his ideal of life.

> Rise, happy morn, rise, holy morn,
> Draw forth the cheerful day from night;
> O Father, touch the east and light
> The light that shone when Hope was born.

A LOST JEWISH SECT

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY
Philadelphia Divinity School

It is little more than a year ago that the *Biblical World* published an account of Dr. J. Rendel Harris' remarkable discovery of the Odes of Solomon—the first notice of the subject to appear in an American journal.[1] In the same summer there appeared another publication of a "find" that in some respects resembles those anonymous Odes. In the first volume of a work called *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*,[2] Dr. Schechter, the distinguished scholar and president of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, has published some manuscripts which he entitles (provisionally) *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. The caption is not very illuminating, but the subject-matter must at once claim our interest when we learn that these ancient manuscripts, found in the Genizah, or storeroom for disused books, of the old Jewish Synagogue in Cairo,[3] reveal to us the remains of a Jewish sect dating from before the beginning of the Christian era, leaving hardly any, more probably, no traces of its existence, except such as are now recovered in these musty leaves.

These Jewish documents offer very different material from the Odes of Solomon. The latter are poetic and mystic effusions of a very high order; they can still be read with spiritual profit, and are worthy representatives of the "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" of the early church. No such literary charm attaches to the later discovery from the Genizah; it contains an obscure, intentionally mystified account of the history of the sect, in the style that is termed in Jewish literature Haggada, and a very poor specimen at that, along with the peculiar code of the body, the

[1] In the August number, 1910.

[2] Published by The Cambridge University Press, 1910.

[3] On this literary rubbish heap and its contents, see the lively account given by Dr. Schechter in the first two chapters of his *Studies in Judaism*, second series, Philadelphia, 1908.

law and its exposition, or Halacha. But both series of documents unfold to us unknown and unexpected corners of Judaism and Christianity, difficult to fit into our historical systems, and bound to result in considerable historical readjustments. The value of the Odes is proved by the very large amount of critical material that has appeared on the subject within the past year, and which is still fast increasing, and in somewhat the same way, though to a less degree, the scholarly world is now turning its attention to these sectarian Jewish documents, which promise to produce an extensive literature. The argument over the historical indications of the documents has already become complicated, and as various theories have been advanced for them as for the Odes of Solomon.[4]

The documents are two in number, one of sixteen pages, the other a single leaf, two pages. The editor would date the former about the tenth century, the second a century or two later. The second text is in part parallel to the first, in part offers additional material; it may be described as a recension, perhaps with supplementary material. The Hebrew is classical in syntax, but the text is in a wretched condition, often unintelligible and requiring of the scholar many essays at restoration, all which shows that a long history lies behind our fairly modern manuscripts. Many Hebrew words belong to the mediaeval Jewish vocabulary, but, as Professor Moore remarks, there was a dark age between the close of the Old Testament and the rise of the Mishna (the earliest stratum of the Talmud), so that conclusions from the vocabulary are in general precarious. The historical references in the manuscripts all point to the Greek period, according to the view of some to the early Roman period, but as there is no reference to the destruction of the temple, 70 A.D., this would seem to be the latest possible *terminus ad quem* for the historical reminiscences.

[4] I refer here to the important articles which are accessible to the readers of the *Biblical World* and will cite them on opportunity below: G. Margoliouth, *Athenaeum* (London), November 26, 1910; E. N. Adler, *ibid.*, February 4, 1911; G. F. Moore, "The Covenanters of Damascus," *Harvard Theological Review*, 1911, pp. 330–377; W. H. Ward, "The Zadokite Document," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1911; K. Kohler, "Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch, and His Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects," *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1911.

The documents have served as part of the sacred literature, the sectarian Talmud, we might say, of the sect concerned, or perhaps of a series of sects, for many centuries, and the manuscripts may contain many overlying recensions and perversions. The mutilated and frequently unintelligible condition of the present text indicates that, despite the simplicity of style, the last copyist was working on a dead letter which he hardly understood and in which he had only an antiquarian interest.

The first half of the longer manuscript gives the history of the sect in veiled allusions, with almost no exact statements of fact, imbedded in a long and tiresome exhortation; the second manuscript is of the same character, and continues this material. For this admixture of history and exhortation we may compare the far more classical introduction to the Book of Deuteronomy (chaps. 1–4), the Epistle to the Hebrews, and various specimens of apocryphal literature like the Book of Jubilees; the second half is Halachic, giving the peculiar law of the sect. Several of the introductory paragraphs are introduced with the quite biblical summons, "Now therefore, children, hearken unto me." This part is heavily interlarded with quotations from Scripture, sometimes introduced with the formula which orthodox Judaism requires, "As said the prophet Isaiah," or the like, but often without this, while at times biblical quotations are strung together without distinction; we might compare the mosaic in Rom. 3:10 ff. There is also a constant reminiscence of biblical phrases. The quotations are most inexactly given, although this may be due to the fault of copyists. The second half of the first and longer manuscript is Halachic, presenting the law of the sect. It is not systematically arranged, and we may suppose that much disruption has occurred in the arrangement.

The outlines of the history are as follows. There is recorded in the first chapter a great defection of Israel from God, but "when he remembered the covenant of the forefathers, he left a remnant to Israel and gave them not over to extermination. And at the end of wrath, 390 years after he had delivered them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, he remembered them and made bud from Israel and Aaron a root of a plant (cf. Isa. 60:21)

to inherit his land and to rejoice in the good of his earth. And they meditated over their sin, and knew that they were guilty men, and they were like the blind groping in the way 20 years. And God considered their deeds, for they sought him with a perfect heart, and he raised for them a teacher of righteousness, to make them walk in the way of his heart." This, the most important historical passage, gives a sample of the writer's style and method. Subsequently we learn that this Teacher of Righteousness, who was descended from Israel and Aaron (i.e., from the priestly family and lay Israel?) was God's Anointed, or literally Messiah, a constant Old Testament epithet for the high priest, as well as for the Davidic king; he is also the Star who was prophesied by Balaam (Num. 24:17). The house of Judah is thus not only overlooked, but it is actually outlawed; "one shall not join the house of Judah" and the princes of that tribe shall be visited by the divine wrath. The remnant that adhered to this Teacher, also called the Unique One, the Lawgiver, etc., followed him to Damascus, where they entered into "the New Covenant" (cf. Jer. 31:31 ff.; Heb. 10: 15 ff.). Scriptural prophecy for this home of the sect is found in a perversion of Amos 5:27.[5] But a great apostasy arose in the sect, consisting of "men of scoffing," one of whom is singled out as "the man of scoffing" and "the man of lies"; these are all bitterly reprobated. Finally there is the expectation of the rise of "the Teacher of Righteousness" or "the Messiah" in the latter days, who will bring the judgment of God upon Israel. Dr. Schechter thinks that the use of the same titles for the historical and the expected lawgiver indicates the belief in the resurrection of the former; but as Professor Moore argues there is no such identification. History was simply to repeat itself; probably Deut. 15:15 underlay this inchoate doctrine, which much resembles the messianic theology of the Samaritans, for whom the Messiah was to be primarily a teacher (cf. John 4:25).

The theology is good Jewish. The Ineffable Name is avoided entirely, the word *El* being used, which occurs in the Old Testament

[5] For the size and weight of the Jewish Community in Damascus, see Acts, chap. 9. Josephus tells that the Romans upon the destruction of Jerusalem massacred 10,000 (in another passage 16,000) Jews in Damascus.

only as a poetic designation of God; "the Name" is also used, and the simple pronoun "He" occurs (compare the similar use in the First Epistle of John). The Pentateuch is the chief authority, but quotations are taken from throughout the Canon, and the Prophets are especially favored. But the scriptures of the sect extend beyond the Old Testament. The apocryphal or pseudepigraphical Book of Jubilees is once cited by name, and there are abundant allusions and references to it; the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is known and cited, and the Book of Enoch is evidently used. There is allusion to some unknown book containing "the word which Jeremiah spoke to Baruch son of Neriah and Gehazi servant of Elisha." There are also two manuals of the law of the sect, an esoteric Talmud, called the Book of the Hagu and the Book of the Foundations, perhaps better, the Principles. Hagu is a new word, but it is derived from a well-known biblical Hebrew verb, translated by "meditate" (e.g., Josh. 1:6, a passage which Dr. Adler thinks is the origin of the title); it is used in the Psalms and Ecclesiasticus of the study of the Law and its exposition, so that Hagu is the practical equivalent of Talmud. There is reference to an angelic being the Prince of the Urim (Michael?), to Belial and Mastema, the common names of Satan in the apocryphal literature, and to the fall of the Watchers (Gen. 6:1 ff. and Enoch). There is no doctrine of resurrection, only a reference to the covenant of God which will "preserve them to a thousand generations," language which need refer only to the perpetuation of the sect.

What appears like a discrepancy from orthodox Judaism in the greater extent of scriptural canon does not, for an age before our era, denote irregularity on part of the sect. The canon of the Old Testament was hardly fixed with positiveness much before the time of Jesus Christ, and the apocryphal books had large vogue among the Jews of the Dispersion without affecting their standing within the Jewish church. Such works are cited in the New Testament as scripture, and in one case the Book of Enoch by name. When the sect arose the Hebrew canon was not yet the article of the standing or falling church. But it is in the matter of the Halacha, the canon law, as the Christian would say, wherein

the separatist body joined positive issue with regular Judaism. For Judaism has always tolerated large variety in belief, but not so easily accepted differences in the main points of ceremonial and practice of life. These separatists formed not merely a heresy, as Paul in one place speaks of the Pharisaic party (Acts 26:5)—indeed the name Pharisee means separatist, but they constituted a distinct sect, to whom Dr. Moore appropriately applies the terms well-known in English Protestant history of Covenanters or Come-outers; for God had made a New Covenant with them which dispossessed the former system as completely as the Mosaic law overrode the Noachian Statutes. They are a sect like the Samaritans, which came to be excommunicated primarily because they did not worship at Jerusalem. As in the injunction of the Epistle to the Hebrews (13:13) they "went without the camp," and established a new sanctuary at Damascus. There is no reference to the priestly ritual, with one exception, that nothing should be offered on the altar on a Sabbath except the burnt-offering, so that we may suppose that the orthodox sacrificial ritual prevailed in the sect. For it is always the character of a sect to emphasize its differences from the mother-body, even if they agree in the greater part of the essentials. The unity of sacrificial worship was retained; there was to be a City of the Sanctuary, called the Purity (just as in the Old Testament "holiness" was a term for the holy place) in which very strict laws of cleanliness were enforced. Provision was also made for "houses of worship," a rather unique word being used (we might compare the Jewish "place of prayer," Acts 16:13), in the various localities where the sect settled.

Along with separateness of sanctuary, the sect insisted on certain other cardinal differences of Halacha. To it had been revealed "the hidden things in which all Israel erred: His holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals, the testimony of His righteousness and the ways of His truth," etc. In this passage appear two of the much stressed points of the sect. They had a different calendar from the orthodox Jewish one, probably, on the basis of one coincidence of language, agreeing with the peculiar counting of the moons laid down in the Book of Jubilees. In the second place, sabbatarian observance was rigorous to the extreme. "A

nurse shall not carry the suckling child in or out on the Sabbath." "None shall deliver an animal on the day of the Sabbath. And if it falls into a pit or ditch, he shall not lift it up on the day of the Sabbath." "And if one falls into a pool of water (on the Sabbath) . . . . one shall not bring him up by a ladder or cord or instrument." We noticed above the restriction of even the altar service on that holy day. These passages illuminate certain well-known passages in the New Testament, where the Lord condemns the inhumanities of the actual practice of sabbatarianism, and while Jewish scholars object that the New Testament puts a false face on the practice, our sect shows how far sabbatarianism could go; it would not have been at all outlawed for its rigor, which would be a matter of private opinion.

The third great point was the matter of what is generally called fornication. This includes sexual vice; the sect appears to have been puritanical, and there was doubtless enough evil of this kind at the age to call for the severest reprobation from strict moralists. But it refers particularly to specific laws of marriage, which ran counter to the accepted practice of Judaism. The sect forbade polygamy, divorce (at least remarriage during the wife's life), and the marriage of uncle with niece. These prohibitions are interesting to the Christian, for at least in the Roman church they are part of the canon law (unless it is overridden by papal dispensation). There are also some other matters of more technical character in which the sect differed from the Pharisees, and that means from early Judaism as we know it, on the whole, for it is the Pharisaic tradition that alone has prevailed and survived.

The most interesting thing in a small sect is generally its political constitution, for even from the smallest body we may learn something interesting and even useful in the matter of polity. The society was hierarchically arranged, into Priests, Levites, Israelites (i.e., laymen), and Proselytes, practically the alignment of castes in the latter part of the Old Testament. Wherever the society was settled its membership constituted a "camp," recalling again, with the reminiscence of the wanderings, the language of Hebrews that here we have no continuing city, itself a polemic against Jerusalem. In each community, it would seem, there was a court

of ten men, composed of four members of Levi and Aaron (priests and Levites) and six laymen. At the head of this court were a priest and a layman, who bore a title unique in Jewish polity, that of "Censor," as Dr. Schechter translates it, better "Supervisor," with Dr. Moore (compare the Christian title "Bishop"); probably "Scrutinizer" would be the best rendering, for this official's chief business was to keep the rolls of the society, admit and examine new members, discipline backsliders, and readmit penitents. He also is to instruct the priest in his duties. It is very interesting to notice this bi-personal headship of the community; although distinctly sacerdotal, and giving no room for the institute of the rabbis, laymen learned in the law, as in Pharisaic Judaism, it developed this lay pope. Christian bodies with the best of Protestant principles have thus an ancient precedent! It is of course a replica of the constitution of the reformed Jewish community after the Exile, when the high priest and the Davidic prince were joint rulers of the church. I think that this provision for a lay Scrutinizer may represent a subsequent development in the history of the sect; with the exception of one passage (p. 9 of the MS) the law of the Scrutinizer does not appear until the end of the document (pp. 13–16). Sacerdotal rule may have proved a failure in secular matters and the lay element have then demanded its part in the control. Or this supervisorship may have grown to its great powers in much the same way as, according to one theory, episcopacy in the Christian church developed the *episkopos:* he was at first the financial officer, and, as holding the money bags, he at last became chief of all.

What now are the origins of this peculiar sect? Dr. Schechter has carefully worked out the clues in many lines. There are striking affinities, he finds, not only with the tendencies represented in the apocryphal books mentioned above, but also with the Samaritans, with one of the sects sprung from the latter body, the Dositheans, with the degraded Jewish sect of the Falashas in Abyssinia, and especially with the Karaites, a remarkable anti-Pharisaic and puritanical sect of the Jews which arose in the seventh century, and which has some of its roots in long extinct Sadduceeism. He thinks further that he can more exactly identify the sect

by relating it to a certain Zadok and his party or sect, to which he thinks the Karaite writings bear witness; one of his chief clues for this connection is the insistence upon the rights of the priestly family of Zadok. But, as Dr. Moore points out, this clue is fallacious, for there is no reference to a personal Zadok.

The first counter-view to Schechter's position was a startling one announced by Dr. Margoliouth of London, who holds that the documents are the remains of an early Jewish-Christian sect, which reverenced both John the Baptist (cf. Acts 18:25) and Jesus Christ (whom he finds in the text by a very forced interpretation), while "the man of scoffing" is the apostle Paul. This may be said to be one of those critical hypotheses which have only a historical place in the history of criticism, for it has served to draw the attention of other scholars more carefully to the subject; but the hypothesis is dead. Dr. Israel Lévi of Paris boldly takes the documents to be Sadducaean,[6] although Schechter had expressed the opinion that there are not sufficient points of resemblance to support the identification. Dr. Wm. Hayes Ward, editor of the *Independent*, has presented just the opposite thesis, that the work is Pharisaic. His arguments are not convincing; for instance, that the Sadducees were according to Josephus' testimony anti-predestinarians—for this testimony is two centuries later than the date he would assign to the origin of the sect, and predestinarianism, as a thoroughly biblical doctrine, was probably earlier accepted by all Jews; or that it was the Pharisees who were really the lighteners of the burden of the Law by their casuistry, and the Sadducees the rigorists of the letter—but the Law in our document appears to have undergone a decided extension in the direction of Pharisaic development.

Dr. Moore thinks that the sect cannot as yet be identified; he insists on the many and strong ties uniting it with the strange schools of early Judaism which produced such a work as the Book of the Jubilees, and emphasizes the fact that the Judaism of the two centuries before Christ was rife with many varieties.

This negative but cautious opinion appears to the present writer to be the safest. As far as the date of the sect's origin is

[6] In the *Revue des études juives*, 1911, p. 161.

concerned, inasmuch as the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, not to say its sacking by Pompey and its destruction by Titus, is not referred to, and there would be every reason for the sect to record the judgments that came upon the holy city which it had abandoned, there is good reason, with Dr. Ward, to date the sect in the earlier part of the second century before Christ, before Antiochus' audacious enterprise against the Jewish religion. But along with this datum it is to be borne in mind that our present documents may represent the accretions of many subsequent generations, and that they may have become the Scriptures of a much younger sect which fitted itself to them as does a hermit crab to another's shell.

The document presents some points of connection with the New Testament, not necessarily directly related, but indicating elements in earlier Judaism which entered into the spirit of Christianity. With the insistence on monogamy (which the Jewish law did not require) and the implied objection to divorce, we can compare the similar Christian rigorism. With Paul's condemnation of going to law with fellow-believers to a Gentile court, is to be compared our sect's condemnation of subjecting a fellow-member to capital punishment by the Gentiles. Grudging and taking vengeance are prescribed in terms that recall Paul's injunction in Rom. 12:19. Love and charity, of course within the sect, are enjoined, though this charity was by no means peculiar to Christianity. The ungodly rulers of the Jews are reprobated because "they rob the poor and that widows be their prey," reminding us of Christ's denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees in Matt. 23:14. Of course these parallels are but correspondences; however, they help to illustrate the age of the New Testament.

Finally, this most interesting discovery of Dr. Schechter's is worthy of the notice of the Bible student for this if for nothing else: that it calls to our attention the rich and many sided variations of early Judaism, which Christians in their ignorance of the origins of the New Testament, and Jews, even Jewish scholars, in their arbitrary delimitation of genuine Judaism, too much ignore. There were the parties of the Pharisees and the Sadducees (the latter of whom we know very little), the opposing camps of

the Zealots and "the Poor in the Land," that strange esoteric and orientalizing sect of the Essenes, which nevertheless kept in communion with Jerusalem, and others of whom we know only the name, like the Boethusians. The Samaritan sect is at least known by name to us, although it is not generally recognized that it was only an offshoot of genuine Judaism, with a rival sanctuary.[7] The Assouan papyri have revealed a Jewish temple in the south of Egypt, with its regular Jewish cult, and its attempts to keep in touch with the mother-church. Early in the second century before Christ a rival temple was erected at Leontopolis by an ousted branch of the priesthood, with the laudable purpose of providing a sanctuary for the Jews of the Diaspora. Variation spells vitality; the process reached its acme in the gospel of Christ and the extension of the church on equal terms to the Gentiles. But with this Judaism could no longer stand the strain, the breaking-point was reached. The variant elements went out or were put out, Christianity probably assimilating much of them. Judaism fell back into the narrow track of an organization that would be just one and indivisible. But the essential vitality of even the Judaism that was left has manifested itself in its history abundant in rich variations through the Middle Ages down to the present.

[7] On the numerous Samaritan sects I may refer to my book, *The Samaritans*, chap. xiii.

THE MINISTER AND THE BOY

III. THE BOY IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY[1]

ALLAN HOBEN
The University of Chicago

From the consideration of bodily health the village boy is better off than his city cousin. He also enjoys to a far greater degree the protective and educative attention of real neighborhood life. The opinions and customs which help to mold him are more personal. He probably holds himself more accountable, for he can more readily trace the results of any course of action in terms of the welfare and good-will of well-known persons. His relation to nature is also more nearly ideal. Artificial restrictions, territorial and otherwise, are not so strictly imposed. His lot favors a sane and normal view of life. There are more chores to be done, more inviting occupations in the open, and altogether there may be a more wholesome participation in the work of maintaining the home than is possible for the city boy.

On the other hand, the static character of village life leaves the boy with little inspiration in his primary interests of play and his serious ideals of the noblest manhood. Idle hours work demoralization, and the ever-present example of the village loafer is not good. With a fair number of exceptions the village is composed of retired farmers and persons of second-rate ability. The former usually lack public spirit and social ideals. Most of the latter, by their very presence in the village, testify to a lack of power or inclination sufficient to thrust them forth into the more intense struggle of modern life. The masculine element especially is not of the strongest and most inspiring kind. The village is the paradise of the loafer and the male gossip. This, however, cannot be said of the small frontier town where the spirit of progress is grappling with crude conditions.

[1] Books recommended: *Official Handbook*, Boy Scouts of America, 200 Fifth Ave., New York; Butterfield, K. L., *Chapters in Rural Progress*, The University of Chicago Press; Butterfield, K. L., *The Country Church and the Rural Problem*, The University of Chicago Press.

Furthermore, the village is sadly incompetent in the organization of its welfare and community work. As a matter of fact, social supervision is often so lax that obscene moving pictures and cards that are driven out of the large cities are exhibited without protest in the small towns. Usually the village is overchurched, and consequently divided into pitiably weak factions whose controlling aim is self-preservation. Seldom can a religious, philanthropic, or social organization be developed with sufficient strength to serve the community as such. The sectarian divisions which in the vast needs and resources of great cities do not so acutely menace church efficiency prove serious in the small town. The saloon, poolroom, livery stable, and other haunts of the idle are open for boys; but the Christian people, because of their denominational differences, maintain no social headquarters and no institution in which boys may find healthy expression for their normal interests. The Y.M.C.A. is impracticable, because the church people are already overtaxed in keeping up their denominational competition and so cannot contribute enough to run an association properly. Wherever an association cannot be conducted by trained and paid officers it will result in disappointment.

The caricature of essential Christianity which is afforded by the denominational exhibit in the village works great harm to boys. It is not only that they are deprived of that guidance which true Christianity would give them, but they are confronted from the first with a spectacle of pettiness, jealousy, and incompetency which they will probably forever associate with Christianity, at least in its ecclesiastical forms. Villages are at best sufficiently susceptible to those unfortunate human traits that make for clique and cleavage in society, and when the Christian church, instead of unifying and exalting the community life, adds several other divisive interests with all the authority of religion, the hope of intelligent, united, and effective service for the community, on a scale that would arouse the imagination and enlist the good-will of all right-minded people, is made sadly remote.

So far as church work is concerned, the village boy is likely to be overlooked, as promising little toward the immediate financial support of the church and the increase of membership. In the

brief interval of two years, the average duration of the village pastorate, it does not seem practicable for the minister to go about a work which will require a much longer time to produce those "satisfactory results" for which churches and missionary boards clamor. A revival effort which inflates the membership-roll, strenuous and ingenious endeavors to increase the offerings, are the barren makeshifts of a policy which does not see the distinct advantage and security in building Christian manhood from the foundation up.

It must not be thought that the minister is largely to blame for the situation as it now is. Perpetuating institutions beyond the time of their usefulness is one of society's worst habits, and it is not to be expected that religious organizations, which in a given stage of the development of Christian truths were vital and necessary, can easily be persuaded to surrender their identity, even after the cause that called them into being has been won.

> "Men are we, and must grieve when even the shade
> Of that which once was great has passed away."

But the real religious leader who loves boys will not be balked by the pettiness and inability of denominationalism. His hope lies not solely in the church or the churches, but largely in the intelligence, sympathy, and generosity of the unchurched citizens, whose number and importance in the small town is probably in the inverse ratio of the number of churches. Business men of whatever creed, or of none, are remarkably responsive to any sane endeavor to create a wholesome outlet for juvenile activity, and, whether right or wrong, count such efforts as being more valuable than much of the traditional church endeavor.

The minister will first try to organize boys' work for the whole community, but if co-operation on the part of all or of a group of the churches proves impossible, let him go ahead with such assistance as his own church and other voluntary supporters will afford, and let him still work in entire freedom from sectarian aim. As a minister of Christ and his kingdom he must give to Christianity an interpretation which will offset provincial and narrow impressions. He must free it from cant and from the other-worldly

emphasis and bring it into the realm where boys and business men will respect it as a social factor of primary importance.

All the problems of early adolescence belong to the village boy as to every other. He also gropes about for his vocational discovery. How shall he gain self-control, how can he find himself? How can he relate his life to the great perplexing world and to the God of all? How can he win his immediate battles with temptation? The public school throws little light upon his possible occupation, trade, or profession, nor does it deal with his moral struggle. The Sunday school, if it touches him at all, is often regarded as a nuisance to be endured out of respect for others. It addresses itself too much to tradition and too little to modern life. It gets the Israelites from Egypt into the possession of Canaan by various miraculous interventions, stops the sea and the sun, knocks down the walls of Jericho by the most uncommon tactics, and reveals the umpire as on the Israelites' side. The boy knows that if this be intended as sober history things have changed somewhat. For these are the very things that do not and should not happen in the conquest of his promised land. Under Christian guidance he must learn the ethical value of an orderly world, the morality that inheres in cause and effect, the divine help which is not partiality; and if it should turn out that he could master these lessons better through work and play and friendship than through being formally instructed in misapprehended lore, then such work and play and fellowship will prove of greater value than the Sunday-school hour alone.

As for the country boy, perhaps his chief lack is association with his fellows. To meet this and to satisfy the gregarious instinct, which will be found in him as in all boys, the minister's organizing ability must be directed. The gymnasium, in so far as it is a makeshift for lack of proper exercise in the life of the city boy, is not in great demand in the country. The farm boy has in his work plenty of exercise of a general and sufficiently exhausting character, and he has the benefit of taking it out of doors. He, of course, is not a gymnast in fineness and grace of development, and he may, indeed, need corrective exercises, but the big muscles whose development tells for health and against nervousness are always

well used. In so far, however, as the gymnasium affords a place for organized indoor play through the winter months there is more to be said of its necessity. For it is not exercise but group play that the country boy most needs. The fun and excitement, the contest and the co-ordination of his ability with that of others, all serve to reduce his awkwardness and to supplant a rather painful self-consciousness with a more just idea of his relative rating among his fellows. He finds himself, learns what it is to pull together, and gets some idea of the problems of getting along well with colleagues and opponents. Wherever the country pastor can secure a room that will do for basketball, indoor baseball, and the like, he may, if it is sufficiently central and accessible, perform a useful service for the boys, and establish a point of contact. It is highly desirable that shower-baths and conveniences for a complete change of clothing be provided. If Saturday afternoon is a slack time and the farmers are likely to come to the village, he should make arrangements to care for the boys then, reserving Saturday evening for the young men. Such an arrangement secures economy in heating the building and may overcome for some of the youth the Saturday evening attractions of the saloon and public dance. For the distinctly country church, situated at the cross-roads, a building that may serve as a gymnasium will be practically impossible unless a very remarkable enthusiasm is awakened among the boys and young men. But in many a country village such an equipment is both necessary and well within the reach of a good organizer. The country people have means and know how to work for what they really desire. What they most lack is inspiration and leadership.

During that part of the open season when school is in session the country minister has an excellent opportunity to meet the boys, organize their play, and become a real factor in their lives. In the country one-room school there will be found but few boys over fourteen years of age, but a great deal can be done with the younger boys in some such way as follows: As school "lets out" in the afternoon the minister is on hand. The boys have been under a woman teacher all day and are glad to meet a man who will lead them in vigorous play. It may be baseball, football, trackwork

with relay races, military drill, or the like—all they need is one who knows how, who is a recognized leader, and who serves as an immediate court of appeal. If they do not get more moral benefit and real equipment for life's struggle in this hour and a half than they are likely to get from a day's bookwork in the average one-room, all-grades, girl-directed country school, it must be because the minister is a sorry specimen.

The city minister takes his boys on outings to the country. The country minister will bring his boys on innings to the city. As they see him he is pre-eminently the apostle of that stirring, larger world. What abilities may not be awakened, what horizons that now settle about the neighboring farm or village may not be gloriously lifted and broadened, what riches that printed page cannot convey may not be planted in the young mind by the pastor who introduces country boys to their first glimpse of great universities, gigantic industries, famous libraries, inspiring churches, and the stately buildings of government!

One need not mention such possibilities as taking a group to the fair or the circus, or on expeditions for fishing, swimming, and hunting—all of them easy roads to immortality in a boy's affection.

Further, the minister is not only the apostle of the greater world but the exemplar of the highest culture. He is to bring that culture to the country not only through his own person but by lectures on art and literature, so that the young may participate in the world's refined and imperishable wealth. This may mean illustrated lectures on art and the distribution of good prints which will gradually supplant the chromos and gaudy advertisements which often hold undisputed sway on the walls of the farmhouse.

It might also be helpful to our partly foreign rural population to have lectures on history such as will acquaint boys and others with the real heroes of various nations, preserve pride in the best national traditions, and ultimately develop a sane and sound patriotism among all our citizens. The church building is not too sacred a place for an endeavor of this kind. The ordinary stereopticon and the moving picture should not be disdained in so good a cause. Boys are hero-worshipers, and history is full of heroes of first-rate religious significance.

As a further factor in elevating and enriching the life of the country boy, the minister may endeavor to create a taste for good reading. The tendency is that all the serious reading shall be along agricultural rather than cultural lines and that the lighter reading shall be only the newspaper and the trashy story. The minister should enlarge the boy's life by acquainting him with the great classics. A taste for good things should be formed early. With the older boys, from the years of sixteen or eighteen upward, organization for literary development and debating should be tried. A good deal in a cultural way is necessary to offset the danger which now besets the successful farmer of becoming a slave to money-making, after the fashion of the great magnates whom he condemns but with rather less of their general perspective of life.

The minister might help organize a mock trial, county council, school board, state legislature, or something of that sort, as a social and educative device for the older boys. Under certain conditions music could well form the fundamental bond of association, and groups gathered about such interests as these could meet from house to house, thus promoting the social life of the parish in no small degree. Young women might well share in the organizations that are literary and musical. The great vogue of the country singing-school a generation ago was no mere accident.

Could not the minister enter into the campaign for the improvement of the conditions of farm life and stimulate the beautifying of the dooryards by giving a prize to the boy who in the judgment of an impartial committee had excelled in this good work? Could he not interest his boys' organization in beautifying the church grounds and so enlist them in a practical altruistic endeavor? Might he not find a very vital point of contact with the country boy by conducting institutes for farmers' boys, perhaps once a month, in which by the generous use of government bulletins and by illustration and actual experiment he might awaken a scientific interest in farming and impart valuable information? In connection with this the boys could be induced to conduct experiments on plots of ground on their fathers' farms. Exhibits could be made at the church and prizes awarded. It would be a good thing too if the profits, or part of the profits, from such experimental plots could be

voluntarily devoted to some philanthropic or religious cause. This would have the double value of performing an altruistic act and of intelligently canvassing the claim of some recognized philanthropy. So also the raising of chickens and stock might be tried in a limited way with the scientific method and the philanthropic purpose combined.

In some places botanical collections can be made of great interest, or the gathering and polishing of all the kinds of wood in the vicinity, with an exhibition in due time, may appeal to the boys. In addition to forestry there is ornithology, geology, and, for the early age of twelve to fifteen, bows and arrows, crossbows, scouting, and various expeditions answering to the adventure instinct.

The wise country minister will certainly keep in touch with the public school, will be seen there frequently, and will give his genuine support to the teacher in all of her endeavor to do a really noble work with a very limited outfit. He will help her to withstand the gross utilitarianism of the average farmer, who is slow to believe in anything for today that cannot be turned into dollars tomorrow. What with the consolidation of township schools, improved communication by rural delivery and telephone, better roads, the increasing use of automobiles, and the rising interest in rural life generally, together with a broad view of pastoral leadership and the "cure of souls" for the whole countryside, the minister may be a vital factor in shaping the social and religious life of the country boy; and he will, because of his character and office, illumine common needs and homely interests with an ever-refined and spiritual ideal. His ministry, however, cannot be all top, a cloudland impalpable and fleeting. It was with common footing and vital ties that Goldsmith's village preacher,

> Allured to brighter worlds and led the way.

After such fashion and with thorough rootage in country life must the minister of today turn to spiritual account the wealth-producing methods of farming. Out of soil cultivation he must guarantee soul culture by setting forth in person, word, and institution those ideals which have always claimed some of the best boyhood of the country for the world's great tasks.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

V. THE FUTURE LIFE IN POPULAR EARLY CHRISTIAN BELIEF

PROFESSOR ERNEST F. SCOTT, D.D.
Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

Outside of its main divisions the New Testament literature includes a number of detached writings, which have come down to us under various names, although their real authorship is in every case uncertain. It is not easy to classify under any single head documents so widely different in character as the Epistle to the Hebrews, the two Epistles of Peter, the Epistles of James and Jude, and the Book of Revelation. For our present purposes, however, they can all be taken as representative of what may be termed the popular Christianity. They reflect not so much the beliefs of great individual thinkers as the average beliefs of the church as a whole.

It needs always to be remembered that the development of early Christian thought was by no means wholly determined by Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel. These no doubt were the creative minds of the church, and their work was of cardinal importance for all subsequent theology. But they were only two teachers out of many, and the very depth and originality of their thinking served to limit its influence. We are now beginning to realize that in the life of the early church there were numerous undercurrents which mingled with the main stream and finally gave it a new direction. The primitive disciples and their successors kept alive the apocalyptic hopes. Judaistic teachers sought to reimpose the legal yoke. Converts from heathenism brought into the new religion the mythical conceptions to which they still held unconsciously. Paul's own adherents misunderstood his doctrines and reproduced them in strange forms. The type of Christianity which gradually established itself as the normal one and obtained sanction in the Catholic creeds was the resultant of a multitude of

forces, all of them operative from the first, though for the most part beneath the surface. A partial light is thrown on the growth of this popular theology by the additional writings of the New Testament. Criticism has concerned itself much with the problem of their authorship; but perhaps their significance is all the greater when we regard them as anonymous. They illustrate the workings of the common Christian mind in its attempt to build up a uniform system of belief.

In the conception of the future life which is set before us in these writings, the revival of Jewish-apocalyptic tradition is clearly marked. This tradition, it is true, had never ceased to exert a powerful influence on Christian thought. Paul himself accepts it and falls back upon it continually in his speculations on the life hereafter. But Paul, and more especially the author of the Fourth Gospel, had sought to combine the apocalyptic teaching with ideas of a different order. They were conscious of a new life already begun for them in the knowledge of Christ, and their hopes of a life to come were all related to this inward experience. The other writers are content with the simple apocalyptic view. They think of the new life as wholly in the future, and as the sequel and counterpart to the present life. Like the apocalyptists, too, they conceive of it in a realistic fashion, and try to picture its nature and conditions. Paul and the Fourth Evangelist—and for that part our Lord himself—insist on the great fact of a future life, and are deliberately silent on all the mysteries that surround it. It is enough to know that "men shall be as the angels in heaven"; that "so we shall be ever with the Lord"; that "we shall be like him for we shall see him as he is." The writers with whom we are now concerned have little of this reserve in their attitude to the unknown future. They try to penetrate its secrets. They borrow images and suggestions from many sources in order to invest the coming life with a vivid reality.

Different reasons may be assigned for this reversion to the apocalyptic modes of thinking. In the first place, the deeper conceptions had never been wholly intelligible to the common mind. A great thinker like Paul might rise above the ordinary beliefs of his time to a more spiritual view of immortality; but few even of

his personal disciples were able to follow him. The traditional view, to which he himself was still partly bound, always maintained its hold on the church at large. Again, we must allow for a certain relaxation of Christian faith and sentiment after the first great age. When all is said, Paul arrived at his conception of the new life not so much by a process of thought as through the intensity of his religious experience. He was aware of a divine power that had taken possession of him. He felt that the life laid up for him in the future must be the same in kind as this new spiritual life. For ordinary men in a later generation it became less and less possible to share in those deep experiences. The future life was cut off from its relation to the present. It was conceived externally, with the help of imagery that tended to become purely sensuous. Again, the reaction from heretical teaching, of a semi-Gnostic character, had much to do in shaping the later doctrine of immortality. False prophets had arisen "who said that the resurrection was past already, overthrowing the faith of some" (II Tim. 2:18). They had found suggestions in Paul's own writings which seemed to lend countenance to their error. In face of this growing tendency to resolve the whole Christian message into a vague speculation, it became necessary to emphasize the reality of the future life. The Pauline teaching, liable as it was to heretical perversion, was displaced by the older tradition. Finally—and this we may believe was the most powerful motive of all—there was a natural craving to know more concerning "those things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard." In the more spiritual teaching this curiosity was not fully satisfied, and it was thrown back on the apocalyptic revelations. By means of these the Christian was enabled to form to himself some kind of definite picture of that new state of existence toward which he was traveling. Conscious though he might be that the picture was only visionary and symbolical, it yet made his hopes more real to him, and helped him to bear up amid the troubles and persecutions of this present world.

The general features which we have sought to indicate were characteristic of the popular belief under all its phases. The Christian attitude to the future life was something entirely new; and a mere relapse into Jewish or pagan conceptions was out of the

question. But the more distinctively Christian ideas, although their presence was always felt, were partially overlaid by the older tradition. Instead of a development along the lines marked out by Paul and the Fourth Evangelist, we have a return to those apocalyptic hopes from which they endeavored to break free. This will become more evident when we turn to the relevant New Testament writings and examine their teaching in regard to the future life.

The first writing that falls to be considered is the Epistle to the Hebrews. It may seem strange to class this remarkable work with the documents of popular Christianity; for its teaching is in some respects peculiar to itself, and is allied with a philosophical theory. None the less, the epistle reflects the popular modes of thought. Its true affinities are not so much with Paulinism as with the resultant theology of the second-century apologists.

The aim of the writer to the Hebrews is to prove that Christianity is the absolute religion, since by it alone we can lay hold on the ultimate realities. After the manner of Philo, whose influence in his thinking is everywhere apparent, he conceives of a true and eternal world, over against this lower world of types and shadows. Jesus belongs to the higher world. Ministering as our great high priest in the heavenly sanctuary, he has made possible for us a real and immediate access to God. It is in this connection that the writer sets forth his idea of the future life. He thinks of it as life in its ideal fulfilment—the complete and abiding life of which our changeful existence on this earth is only the shadow. Through Christ we can attain to that true life. Even now we have the assurance of it by faith and can live in that assurance—but we do not obtain the reality except in the world to come. At this point, however, the Philonic conception blends itself in the writer's mind with the traditional apocalyptic hopes. The world of higher realities becomes the heavenly world—an actual sphere above this earth, where God has his dwelling-place. Contrasted with Jerusalem, the seat of the earthly temple, there is "a continuing city," "a city which hath foundations," prepared by God for his people. This side of the writer's thought is expressed most fully in the great passage where he enlarges on the goal of the Christian

life: "Ye are come unto mount Zion and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven and to God the Judge of all," etc. (Heb. 12:22–24). Here we have a complete picture of the future abode of the righteous, as it was henceforth to be conceived by Christian thought. God is enthroned in a heavenly city. He has Christ at his right hand and is surrounded by "hosts of angels," to whose company are added the elect souls from earth. In more than one passage elsewhere the writer suggests the counterpart to this picture. As there is a heavenly city for the righteous, so there is an abode for the wicked—"a certain fearful expectation of judgment, and a fierceness of fire which shall devour the adversaries" (10:27).

In the Epistle of James, which is concerned throughout with practical exhortation, there is little allusion to the doctrine of the future life. But in several passing references the author discloses the background of his ethical teaching. To those that love him, the Lord "will give a crown of life" (1:12); he has "promised them a kingdom" (2:5). The meaning of such references becomes clear in the light of other passages which speak of the approaching Judgment. We find ourselves amid the circle of ideas that prevailed in primitive Christianity, with its expectation of a speedy Parousia and a bestowal of life on the righteous. It has been inferred from this marked feature of the epistle that it ranks among the very earliest of the New Testament writings. More probably we are to draw a directly opposite inference. The reversion to apocalyptic thought is typical of the popular Christianity which grew up in the later time.

The First Epistle of Peter, in its teaching on the new life as in its thought generally, is strongly affected by Pauline influence. As with Paul, the hope of immortality has its source and guaranty in the resurrection of Christ (1:3; 3:21). The new life, as contrasted with the old, is "incorruptible" (1:4; 1:23). Even in the present the Christian enjoys a certain fellowship with Christ (1:8) and has undergone a change of nature (1:23). But the Pauline ideas are imperfectly apprehended, and are merged at every turn in the older apocalyptic ideas. The inheritance which

is ours as Christians is one "reserved for us in heaven" (1:4). It will only be given us "in the last time" (1:5), "at the appearing of Jesus Christ" (1:7), and we are now "strangers and pilgrims" (2:11), the watchword of whose lives is "hope" (1:3; 1:21; 3:15). For the history of the Christian doctrine of immortality the epistle possesses a special interest, as containing the earliest reference to Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison (3:19, 20). This peculiar conception was no doubt partly due to the natural feeling that those who had been condemned before Christ's coming should have their chance of participating in the later salvation. But in itself it was a fragment of pure mythology that had crept in, perhaps, from some Egyptian or oriental source. Its presence in the epistle is one of the clearest indications of the mingling process that was now at work in popular Christianity.

II Peter and Jude are kindred writings, intended to combat some form of heresy which assailed the very foundations of Christian belief. Among these foundations, in the view of the writers, are the apocalyptic ideas as to the future. The fact of the Parousia, with its sequel in the judgment and the establishment of the kingdom, is strongly reasserted. The life to come is regarded, in strictly traditional fashion, as a gift bestowed on the righteous after their deliverance. A conspicuous feature in these writings is the insistence on a punishment in store for the wicked in the other world. "The Lord knoweth how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished" (II Pet. 2:9). "He turned the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly" (II Pet. 2:6; Jude, vs. 7). "The angels that kept not their first estate he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (Jude, vs. 6; II Pet. 2:4).

In the Book of Revelation the realistic ideas of the future world, which form the background of all these writings, find their classic expression. The book has exercised an incalculable influence in the molding of subsequent belief. It is hardly less important historically, as illustrating the popular Christian ideas during the New Testament period.

As in the Epistle to the Hebrews, a vision is set before us of a

heavenly palace or temple. God sits on his throne, with Christ as his assessor, and is worshiped by myriads of angels. A place is given in this company of the blessed to the elect from the tribes of Israel, and to a great multitude out of the Christian church who have suffered for the name of Christ. They are clothed in white robes (an allusion, perhaps, to the "spiritual body") and enjoy a life of absolute peace and happiness, ever renewed. This blessedness of the redeemed, however, though it is described under images of earthly joy and satisfaction, is something far different in its nature. It consists in a perfect communion with God and a never-ceasing worship of him. "They are before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple, and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them" (7:15).

It is only the martyrs who are transported immediately after death into the heavenly temple. The writer assumes that there will be a twofold resurrection. Those who have suffered for Christ will enter at once into his kingdom, and will reign with him for the thousand years that will precede the end of the world. The second resurrection will include all other men, after the thousand years are finished. In this curious manner a solution was found in the popular belief for that difficulty which had perplexed the mind of Paul. It was held that for men generally there would be a prolonged interval of "sleep" between death and the judgment; while the immediate transition to life was reserved as a peculiar reward for confessors and martyrs.

The millennium is followed by the general resurrection and the judgment; then comes the great consummation. In accordance with the apocalyptic tradition the writer conceives of this earth—transformed and glorified—as the final abode of God's people. The New Jerusalem descends from heaven to earth, and all whose names are written in the book of life are gathered into it. Although established on earth, it is still the heavenly city, for all the barriers that separate the two worlds have now been broken down. But while he adopts the apocalyptic scheme, the writer departs, in one important respect, from primitive Christian belief. He takes for granted that all who enter into the new state of being must pass through the gateway of death. The old idea has been finally

abandoned that those who survive until the Parousia "will not die but will be changed" (I Cor. 15:51).

The eternal blessedness of the righteous is contrasted with the doom reserved for the wicked. There is a "lake of fire and brimstone" into which the devil and his angels are hurled after their last defeat, to be "tormented day and night for ever" (20:10). All who are condemned in the Judgment will be thrown likewise into the lake of fire. It may be doubted, however, whether the writer conceives the punishment of wicked men as eternal, like that of the evil spirits. He seems rather to think of them as suffering an utter destruction. In the lake of fire they undergo the second and final death.

The book closes with a description of the New Jerusalem, the glories of which are set forth in a series of marvelous pictures. But with all the profusion of oriental imagery, there is no suggestion of a merely sensuous paradise. We are made to feel that all the details are symbolical, and that the heavenly city is the consummation of the spiritual life. "I saw no temple therein." "They shall see his face." "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them." The blessedness of the hereafter is the condition of perfect fellowship with God.

We have now considered the idea of the future life as it finds expression in the various writings which may be taken as representative of the popular Christianity. It is at once apparent that the Pauline conception, though not entirely lost, has in large measure been displaced by one that is much less profound and spiritual. Paul had indeed framed his doctrine in accordance with the commonly received beliefs. He looked forward to a visible coming of Christ, a resurrection of the dead at the summons of the angelic trumpets, a judgment in which eternal life would be awarded to God's people. But with Paul these traditional ideas are subsidiary and external. His ultimate endeavor is to base the hope of immortality on the new facts of Christian experience. He finds the assurance of it in the resurrection of Christ and all that this had meant to the apprehension of faith. He connects the life to come with the new spiritual life that has begun now, and perceives that in the last resort it is the same life, more fully realized. In the

later writings these far-reaching ideas are obscured or wholly forgotten. The apocalyptic tradition once more becomes predominant, and the future life is regarded simply as another state of being which will make amends for the labors and afflictions of the present. It ceases to bear an inward relation to Christian faith and experience, and passes into the world of hope and vision and revelation.

None the less, we can observe a certain advance on the thought of Paul. In the first place, the idea of immortality has now become a clear and definite object of Christian reflection. It is no longer implicit in the general scheme of belief, but is felt to possess in its own right a primary religious significance. Again, the presentation of the idea under forms borrowed from apocalyptic was itself, in one sense, a gain. There was a danger that for Christian as for Greek thought the future life might become purely a matter of abstract speculation. Profound religious natures like Paul and the Fourth Evangelist might find all that their faith required in the inward certainty of a new life given to them by Christ. But for the ordinary mind something more was necessary if the hope of the hereafter was to be other than a theological dogma. Presented in the vivid colors of apocalyptic, it made its appeal to the imagination. It impressed itself on Christian men and women with the force of a reality and became a motive power in their religious life. Once more, in the popular belief, with all its externalism, we can discern an attempt to answer some of those difficulties which Paul had left out of account. He had addressed himself solely to the believer, and had little to say concerning the great mass of men in whom the Spirit had never accomplished its work of life. The church was unable to rest in this one-sided doctrine of the future. Questions pressed forward for solution as to the fate of the wicked, the ignorant heathen, the multitudes who had perished before the coming of Christ. When we turn from the serene horizons of Paul and the Fourth Evangelist to the "fearful expectations of judgment" which darken the other writings, we are, no doubt, conscious of the intrusion of crude and semi-pagan ideas. But we must needs admit that the popular thought was struggling, in however imperfect a fashion, with real and vital

issues, which had been too slightly regarded in the more spiritual doctrines.

It is undeniable, then, that in the ordinary teaching of the church, as distinguished from that of the great individual thinkers, the Christian view of the hereafter was largely affected by alien influences. Beliefs were taken over from Jewish tradition, and were reinforced by the suggestions of Greek and oriental mythology. Yet the result was something very different from a mere relapse into the earlier apocalyptic dreams. The essential Christian ideas never ceased to assert themselves, and to leaven with a new significance all that was borrowed. Eternal life was linked in men's minds with confession of Jesus Christ and obedience to his law. It was promised as a crown for moral victory, a reward for sacrifices that in this world seemed vain, a fulfilment of all noble endeavors and desires. The conditions of the future were set forth in realistic colors, but it was not forgotten that the heavenly city and its glories had a meaning beyond themselves. They were the visible types of a spiritual consummation. To behold God face to face and hold fellowship with him forever was joy and life. Within the New Testament period, as in the times since, the Christian hope assumed different forms, some of them less adequate than others to the inner purport of Christ's message. But in them all we can recognize the working of a new spirit. The ancient beliefs and speculations have been definitely transcended, and have given place to the Christian conception of immortality.

THE INHERITANCE OF THE AUTHORIZED BIBLE OF 1611

ROBERT GRENVILLE ARMSTRONG
Amherst, Mass.

The anniversary of the occurrence of any great event produces, for the time being at least, more thought and study relative to the event. This has been true in the recent, and still continued, celebration of the tercentenary of the Authorized Version of the English Bible. Many valuable papers have been given to the public. The secular as well as the ecclesiastical press has devoted much space to the extolling of this beloved Book.

During the past few months the Version of 1611 has been variously termed a "translation" and a "revision." One might well ask which it is. Is it a translation of the mother tongues of its writers, or is it a revision of former translators? In the words of the Revisers themselves in the admirable Preface to the version:

> Truly (good Christian Reader) wee neuer thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, (for then the imputation of Sixtus had bene true in some sort, that our people had bene fed with gall of Dragons instead of wine, with whey instead of milke;) but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath bene our indeauour, that our marke. . . . .

We cannot say that the work was entirely a translation nor that it was entirely a revision. It was both. The committee retained the best phraseology of previous years if it did not violate the original. In their own words again from the Preface:

> And to the same effect say wee, that we are so farre off from condemning any of their labours that traueiled before vs in this kinde, either in this land or beyond sea, either in King Henries time, or King Edwards (if there were any translation, or correction of a translation in his time) or Queen Elizabeth's of euer-renouned memorie, that we acknowledge them to haue beene raised vp of God, for the building and furnishing of his Church, and that they deserue to be had of vs and of posteritie in euerlasting remembrance.

And again, farther on in the Preface:

By this meanes it commeth to passe, that whatsoever is sound alreadie (and all is sound for substance, in one or other of our editions, and the worst of ours farre better then their autentike vulgar) and same will shine as gold more brightly, being rubbed and polished; also, if any thing be halting, or superfluous, or not so agreeable to the originall, the same may bee corrected, and the trueth set in place.

In this work of revision they used all available material. "Neither did wee thinke much to consult the Translators or Commentators, Chaldee, Hebrewe, Syrian, Greeke, or Latine, no, nor the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch." (The "Dutch" undoubtedly refers to the Bible of Luther.) Seldon gives us a bit of insight into their method of work in his *Table Talk:*

The translation in King James's time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downs); and then they met to-gether and read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, etc.; if they found any fault they spoke; if not he read on.

The work thus spoken of must have been that of the select committee who reviewed the whole labor of the six companies. Again in the Preface we find these words of indebtedness to those who had translated before:

Yet for all that, as nothing is begun and perfited at the same time, and the later thoughts are thought to be the wiser: so, if we, building vpon their foundation that went before vs, and being holpen by their labours, doe endeuour to make that better which they left so good; no man, we are sure, hath cause to mislike vs; they, we perswade our selues, if they were aliue, would thanke vs.

Hence we see that the Revisers themselves acknowledge the help that they received from previous translations and revisions.

Of their use of the original tongues they speak as follows:

If you aske what they had before them, truely it was the Hebrew text of the Olde Testament, the Greeke of the New. These are the two golden pipes, or rather conduits, where through the oliue branches emptie themselues into the golde. Saint Augustine calleth them precedent, or originall tongues; Saint Hierome, fountaines. The same Saint Hierome affirmeth, and Gratian hath not spared to put it into his Decree, That, as the credit of the olde Bookes (he meaneth of the Old Testament) is to be tryed by the Hebrew Volumes, so of the New by the Greeke tongue, he meaneth by the originall

Greeke. If trueth be to be tried by these tongues, then whence should a translation be made, but out of them? These tongues therefore, the Scriptures wee say in those tongues, wee set before vs to translate, being the tongues wherein God was pleased to speake to his Church by his Prophets and Apostles.

From this it is clear that due importance was laid on the original tongues of the book on which they worked. They saw in them the true source of the work. They recognized themselves as translators, but they also saw that it was a justified function of theirs to take the best of those who had gone before, provided that it was true to the sense of the original.

What, then, has been the inheritance of the Authorized Version from the English Bibles of earlier days? It would require volumes to trace each phrase, verse, or idiom, but an insight of what the translators owed to preceding work may be gained by a few examples and comparisons.

Wycliff is known as one of the earliest of the translators of the Bible. The work on the Bible at that time bears his name at least, whether or not he translated it himself. This early version from the Latin Vulgate has been highly praised as being the foundation of the phraseology of biblical English since. And it has had a tremendous molding power over the whole use of the language. Many terse Saxon phrases have been borrowed from Wycliff as well as several Latin words ending in *-ation*. "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way" is so rendered in Wycliff, and "The deep things of God" comes from him. When we modernize the spelling of Wycliff it reveals to us many familiar passages. When read aloud his text does not sound very different from the Authorized Version. The familiar beatitudes taken from the Wycliff Version will serve to show the similarities of phraseology:

And Jhesus seynge the peple, went up into an hil; and whanne he was sett, his disciplis camen to him. And he openyde his mouthe, and taughte hem; and seide, Blessid be pore men in spirit; for the kyngdom of hevenes is herun. Blessid ben mylde men; for thei schulen weelde the erthe. Blessid ben thei that mournen; for thei schal be coumfortid. Blessid be thei that hungren and thirsten rightwisnesse; for thei schal be fulfilled. Blessid ben merciful men; for thei schul gete mercy. Blessid ben thei that ben of clene herte; for thei schulen se god. Blessid ben pesible men; for thei schulen be clepid goddis children. Blessid ben thei that suffren persecucion for right-

wisness: for the kyngdom of hevenes is hern. Ye schul be blessid whanne men schule curse you, and schule pursue you; and schule seye al yvel agens you liynge for me. Joie ye and be ye glade; for your meede is plenteous in hevenes; for so thei han pursued also prophetis that weren bifore you.

It is interesting to note that the Wycliff, the Rheims, and the Authorized use the word "charity" in I Cor., chap. 13, while Tyndale, the Genevan, and the Revision of 1884 use the word "love." Dr. Richard Storrs, in an address delivered on the five-hundreth anniversary of the time of Wycliff, pays the following tribute to him:

It is true that what Mr. Marsh elsewhere calls "the sacred and religious dialect" which has continued the language of devotion and of Scriptural translation to the present day, was first established in England by the Wycliffite Version; and what Mr. Froude has characterized as the peculiar genius, of mingled tenderness and majesty, of Saxon simplicity and preternatural grandeur, which breathes through the latest translation, had its example, and partly its source, in the earliest.

The successor of Wycliff was William Tyndale, a master translator. He followed the method of work later carried on by the committee of fifty-four appointed by King James. He translated the Bible from the original tongues, but did not disdain to use other helps. He made good use of the Latin Vulgate, the German Bible of Luther, and other existing commentaries and translations. In the words of Spalatin, taken from his *Table Talk:*

This work was translated by an Englishman, who was staying there with two of his countrymen, and who was so learned in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, and French, that, whichever he spoke, you would think it his native tongue.

The result of Tyndale's painstaking work was a Bible, the diction of which was to dominate the Authorized Version of 1611. Professor Albert S. Cook, writing in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, says:

It is agreed on all hands that the English of the Authorized Version is, in essentials, that of Tyndale. Minor modifications were made by translators and revisers for the next eighty years or so; but, speaking broadly, the Authorized Version is Tyndale's.

A study of his text, a comparison of it with the same text in the Authorized Version prove that, in a great measure, the latter has

been taken from the former. Almost any passage would suffice to prove this point. I Cor. 15:51–53 will do:

Beholde I shewe you a mystery. We shall not all slepe; but we shall be chaunged, and that in a moment, and in the twinclinge of an eye, at the sounde of the last trompe. For the trompe shall blowe, and the deed shall ryse incorruptible, and we shalbe chaunged. For this corruptible must put on incorruptibilite; and this mortall must put on immortalite.

It has been computed that nine-tenths of Tyndale's work has been retained in I John, that five-sixths of the Epistle to the Ephesians is his also. The proportions are similar in all parts of the New Testament, and as far in the Old Testament as Tyndale had time to translate. Such an influence is indeed a tribute to the man who worked in obscurity, who sacrificed his home-land, who suffered martyrdom that "a boy that driveth the plough" might know the Scriptures. "He gave the language fixity, volubleness, grace, beauty, simplicity, and directness."

But we must hasten along our path of the translators and revisers. The next scholar who was to influence the Authorized Version by the work that he did was a contemporary of Tyndale, Miles Coverdale. He was not a translator in the true sense of the word. He could direct the work of others, and he had extraordinary skill as an editor. As such he utilized the work of Tyndale and of various translations in Latin and German. He had the support of powerful men in his own country, however, a fact that allowed him to carry on his work under more favorable circumstances. His influence on the Bible of 1611 is not as marked as that of Tyndale's as far as extended passages are concerned, but it is very great in respect to apt phraseologies, turns, renderings, etc. He is typified by his phrases "tender mercies," "loving kindness," and the like. Lacking the rugged strength of Tyndale, he has the grace and charm of a milder spirit. How smoothly his sentences flow is seen especially in his translation of the Psalms. A good example of his style is the Twenty-third Psalm:

The Lorde is my shepherde, I can want nothinge.

He fedeth me in a greene pasture and ledeth me to a fresh water.

He quickeneth my soule and bringeth me forth in the waye of rightuousness for his names sake.

Though I shulde walke now in the valley of the shadowe of death, yet I

feare no euell, for thou art with me; thy staffe and thy shepe-hoke comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me agaynst mine enemies; thou anoyntest my heade with oyle, and fyllest my cuppe fulle.

Oh let thy louing kyndness and mercy folowe me all the dayes off my life that I maye dwell in the house off the Lorde for euer.

Taverner's Bible, published about 1539, had only a slight effect on the Authorized Version. The most familiar passages retained by the Revisers are: "because of their unbelief"; "ninety and nine"; "lodged"; "passover"; and "parables."

The Genevan Bible, the work of several men who had fled to the Continent for refuge, was a scholarly piece of work which also influenced the Authorized Version perceptibly. Its pure English, its accuracy, and its terseness commended itself to the people. It became a most popular version of the Scriptures. It bequeathed its scholarly nature to the Authorized Version. If we take the Lord's Prayer as an example of the work we shall see a marked similarity:

After this manner therefore pray ye. Our Father which art in heauen, halowed be thy Name.

Thy Kingdome come, Thy wil be done euen in earth as it is in heauen.

Giue vs this day our daily bread.

And forgive vs our dettes, as we also forgiue our detters.

And lead vs not into tentation, but deliuer vs from euil; for thine is the kingdome, and the power, and the glorie for euer. Amen.

The so-called Bishops' Bible was inspired by the success of the Genevan Bible, which was closely followed. Archbishop Parker objected to the controversial notes of the former and therefore appointed a committee of eight to revise the Great Bible. But it did not correct the faults of its predecessors and was cumbersome, costly, unscholarly, ill-suited to the public, and poorly edited. It was therefore without effect on the King James Version.

One Bible—the Douai—which influenced the Authorized Version has not yet been mentioned. This work was done by Catholic scholars to offset the results of the English translations of other sects. It is strongly Latin in its phraseology, oftentimes approaching incomprehensibility. But from it the Authorized Version borrowed several phrases, among which we find "blessed,"

"decease," "upbraideth not," "hymn," "reprobate," "impenitent," "confess" for "acknowledge," and others.

It has not been my purpose to examine exhaustively all the material incorporated in the Authorized Version from its predecessors. I think it has been shown with sufficient clearness that the men who labored on the Bible under the command of King James were in the main revisers of the work of Tyndale who translated from the original tongues. He was influenced by the diction of Wycliff. It is a misnomer to term the Authorized Version of the English Bible a translation. But to make such a statement does not cast disparagement on the men who labored in its behalf. Probably their work would not have attained the hold it has on the English people of today had they made a new translation. Their task was a larger one. They were molding a standard for the English language. To secure the best diction, the fittest terminology, the clearest expression was more than the work of a translator. They had back of them translations, of other men. They went over these former translations, diligently comparing them with the original tongues to detect any mistakes of translating, and choosing for their own volume the choicest and best of all who had gone before. Taking these bits from here and there, maybe whole chapters in some cases, they carefully corrected, compiled, and edited the whole. The result is, in the words of Professor John F. Genung (in the *Biblical World* for April, 1911) that,

> it is not only a classic, it is *the* English classic *par excellence*, true to the genius of English speech and life; and it is as truly a folk's book as if it were a book of the passing year and not a classic at all. For language and literature alike it stands pre-eminent as the great clearing-house of idea and phrase, of story and figure, of thought literal and symbolic, the comrade of all ranks of mind from humblest to highest.

NOTE.—Among recent helpful books bearing on this subject may be mentioned: Alfred W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, Oxford, 1911; *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, IV, Cambridge, 1909; James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, 3 vols., London, 1910–11.

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

A PROFESSIONAL READING COURSE ON JESUS IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

For the benefit of ministers and teachers of the Bible who are interested in present-day movements in biblical study, a professional reading course on "Jesus in the Light of Modern Scholarship" is being outlined in these pages by SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, *of the New Testament Department in the University of Chicago. Our sources of information regarding Jesus were dealt with in the October number; his life and teaching as determined by modern critical study were discussed in November. Questions for consideration should be addressed to the Editors of the* BIBLICAL WORLD; *inquiries as to books and traveling libraries, to the* AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

III. THE EARLY CHRISTIANS' INTERPRETATION OF JESUS

The following books upon this topic have been chosen for careful reading: J. Weiss, *Paul and Jesus;* J. Weiss, *Christ, the Beginnings of Dogma;* P. Lobstein, *The Virgin Birth of Christ;* K. Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.*

Paul is the earliest of Jesus' interpreters whose opinions we know at first hand. But even a casual reading of the Pauline epistles shows us that the Apostle has very little to say about Jesus and his work upon earth. His death seems to have been the only phase of his earthly career that impressed Paul as supremely significant for Christian faith. But the risen Jesus, exalted to a place of heavenly lordship, and later to come as the Messiah in judgment, figures very largely in Paul's thinking. This fact is so striking that sometimes critics have claimed that Paul had no vital concern with the earthly Jesus, and with his preaching about the fatherhood of God and the attainment of divine sonship for man through the realization of a godlike life. In Jesus' conception of religion emphasis fell upon ethical and spiritual items; in Paul's conception more doctrinaire features seem to predominate, salvation being conditioned upon assent to a certain type of christological speculation.

Six years ago the late Professor Wrede of Breslau, in a small treatise on *Paul,* sharply restated this difference between the thought of Paul and that of Jesus, and went on to affirm that historical Christianity had adopted more generally Paul's way of thinking, so that he and not Jesus

was in reality the founder of the new religion. Wrede's book called forth several protests, of which Weiss's *Paul and Jesus* is one of the latest.

Weiss admits a wide difference between the teaching of Jesus and the preaching of Paul, yet he contends that the latter was influenced in important respects by the former. It was not so much Jesus' teaching as his personality that exerted this influence. But how did this come about? Weiss would have it that Paul had known the earthly Jesus personally, and so was able to identify him in the heavenly vision on the way to Damascus. To be sure, in II Cor. 5:16, Paul writes, "even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him so no more," but whether this is meant literally, or is more general and mystical in significance, may still be questioned. But Paul, in persecuting the Christians, had had ample opportunity to observe the type of life which believers were endeavoring to exhibit in imitation of their Master. This will undoubtedly have impressed the persecutor forcibly, and it may well have been an important antecedent to his conversion. Paul and Jesus, then, are more vitally related than one might think, judging merely by a comparison of the more formal side of their respective teachings. They were one not in doctrine so much as in vital piety. On the other hand, the different circumstances under which they lived necessitated some wide variations in their respective ways of thinking, the fundamental difference between the two in this respect being that Jesus did not present himself as the object of religious reverence, while for Paul veneration of Jesus is a primary dogma of religion. And this was true of believers in general in Paul's day. But at the basis of all dogma was the new piety, which even in Paul's case must be traced back to Jesus himself, who is thus the genuine founder of Christianity.

The question of the place given Jesus in the interpretation of believers generally, is treated more comprehensively in Weiss's *Christ, the Beginnings of Dogma*. The earliest phase of belief was "Jesus is the Messiah" who will soon come to set up his kingdom—a faith which rested upon the disciples' conviction of having seen the risen Jesus. Further substantiation of this faith was found in recalling Jesus' own messianic claims, and the Old Testament notions about the Son of God and the Son of Man. Paul adopted the doctrine of the heavenly Christ and elaborated it along lines peculiar to his own thinking, while other interpreters followed with their individual contributions to the evolution of christological speculation. These items are presented so clearly by Weiss that further comment here is unnecessary.

The significant reflection which this survey occasions is the wide departure of christological speculation from the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the primitive gospel tradition. There he did not present himself as the supreme object of religious devotion, but told men of the Father whom they were to worship and serve. But immediately upon attainment of the resurrection faith the disciples began to give Jesus a larger and larger place in their reflection, so that ultimately the religion which Jesus had exemplified and taught was overlaid by a faith which had the exalted Christ as its center.

The doctrine of Jesus' virgin birth and belief in his resurrection stand out so prominently in early Christian thinking that they merit separate treatment, for which the works of Lobstein and Lake may furnish a basis.

Lobstein compresses into the minimum of space a strong argument against the historicity and doctrinal importance of the infancy stories of Matthew and Luke. His book is practically a brief to indicate the superior value of a faith detached from such a source although it may express itself through such a medium. He also seeks to show the religious value which found expression in the virgin-birth tradition. The suggestions which follow correspond to the progress of Lobstein's argument from page to page so that the reader will have no difficulty in relating them to the proper parts of the book.

In the editorial introduction Dr. Morrison indicates that the spread of the scientific mode of thought makes the infancy narratives an increasing tax upon faith which is thus forced to ask whether these stories are sober history or theology in historical dress.

Lobstein's preface is given to the criticism of an unimportant book. His real argument begins on p. 41, where he indicates that in the earliest form of the gospel story the baptism of Jesus by John was the starting-point for his career. Thus the infancy narratives had no place in this early gospel, and moreover, from the point of view of literary criticism, they do not form an integral part of Matthew and Luke. They obviously contradict each other and raise insuperable difficulties. For example, the two genealogies which are almost totally different startle the reader by agreement in the singular fact that they both give the lineage of Joseph—certainly a strange way of approach to the virgin birth of Jesus. Further, the author calls attention to the parents' wonder in the temple incident, and the strangeness of the mother's fear (Mark 3:20, 21), in the light of the annunciation knowledge which Mary must have had. He also points out with telling effect the silence

of Paul and John. The doctrine is then taken up as a reflection of Christian faith in terms of contemporaneous Messianism, and upon the background of the Old Testament records of remarkable births corresponding to remarkable careers. It is held that the evangelists do not base the sinlessness of Jesus upon the manner of his physical birth. Such a device is considered only a half-way remedy at best. And then consider how far back the "purifying" process must go in order to be perfectly valid.

The reader should make clear to himself the difference of the point of view in Paul and John from that of the authors of the infancy narratives. Paul and John speak of the incarnation of a pre-existent being, while the narrators of the infancy narratives speak of the creation and birth of a new being. The early Christian theologians show no end of ingenuity in adapting these to each other for dogmatic use.

Lobstein himself, however, runs into a strange mysticism (pp. 96–102, 112) in making his confession of faith. For in asserting the divinity of Jesus he makes him so extraneous in origin as to discredit hopelessly the moral possibilities of this world, and to ignore the fact of divine immanence. This is almost as evident in his conclusion as in his confession of faith.

Lake limits his examination, so far as this is possible, to those parts of the New Testament, and certain other early Christian writings, which give direct testimony to the resurrection and appearance of Jesus. He does not discuss passages which incidentally affirm or imply that Jesus arose from the dead, and he attempts to escape the influence of dogmatic considerations, or inferences drawn from the experience of Christians, or the life of the Christian church. Indeed he holds that while the facts of experience may well prove the continued, unbroken life of the Lord, they can have no bearing upon the historical question whether the body of Jesus left the tomb and revealed itself to the senses of certain persons.

The method and order in which such an inquiry must be prosecuted are clearly outlined and closely followed. First, the paragraphs which present the evidence, in those documents which have come down to us, are carefully examined, their original text recovered, so far as this is possible, and their contents interpreted. In I Cor., chap. 15, we have the earliest and most original tradition. Paul here reports testimony which must have come to him very directly from those who believed the Lord had appeared to them, and he adds to this testimony, derived from others, a brief but clear statement that Jesus had also appeared to him. The Gospels, however, do not contain such direct testimony as this.

Mark, the earliest of them, was not written by an eyewitness. Moreover it has come down to us in a mutilated form, which contains no account of the resurrection or of the appearance of Jesus. Mark doubtless contained, as it left the hands of the author, a report of an appearance of Jesus to Peter in Galilee, and perhaps of appearances to others. But this last conclusion cannot be restored from fragments in the other gospels. The other gospels contain accounts which come from unknown sources, and these cannot be identified or restored to their original forms, and they contain inconsistencies and improbabilities which must be recognized. The verses added to Mark and the fragments of the Gospel of the Hebrews and the Gospel of Peter add little or nothing to our historical sources.

Secondly, the author attempts to reconstruct from these sources the content of the earliest tradition. Following is the result: Joseph of Arimathaea buried the body of Jesus on Friday evening. On Sunday morning some women visited an empty tomb in the vicinity, mistaking it for the one in which Jesus' body had been placed. The disciples had returned to their homes but their courage was gradually revived by appearances of the risen Lord, first to Peter in Galilee and afterward to others both in Galilee and in Judea. Thus they were led to return to Jerusalem to take up the Master's work. Here they met the women who told them of the empty grave, so there was added the statement that the resurrection took place on the third day.

In the third division of the book the author endeavors to discover the facts behind this earliest tradition. Was the tomb empty? Was the resurrection on the third day? What significance is to be attached to the appearances? These questions are answered briefly. The grave was not empty. It was assumed to be so by the disciples the moment they experienced a vision of the risen Lord, and this inference was confirmed by the testimony of the women who supposed that they had visited the grave in which Jesus' body had been placed. Mention of the "third day" rests upon inference from the experience of the women, but in the later apologetic it was supplemented by Old Testament prophecy and by predictions of Jesus. The third question does not admit of so definite an answer. The author believes the earliest tradition regarded the appearances as spiritual, the emphasis upon the material side in Luke and John being due to apologetic interests. But to explain the nature of a spiritual manifestation is difficult. The theory of subjective hallucination is rejected, and it is maintained that the disciples actually witnessed certain appearances dependent upon the spirit personality of the

heavenly Jesus. How these are to be explained we are as yet unable to say, but it is suggested that evidence collected by the society of psychical research may ultimately shed new light upon this elusive subject.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Did the first believers in Jesus' messiahship think they were advocating a new religion or only a corrected form of their former faith?
2. In what sense was primitive Christianity a new religion, as compared with contemporary Jewish faith?
3. How much of Paul's theology is brought over from his previous Jewish thought?
4. What were the chief agencies bringing about belief in Jesus' resurrection and heavenly exaltation?
5. What relation had Jesus' earthly career to these items of belief?
6. When did interest first arise in finding evidence of Jesus' messiahship in his activity upon earth?
7. What particular need was met by the doctrine of the virgin birth?
8. How did the spread of Christianity from Jewish to Greek soil affect theological speculations?
9. How does Jesus' personal religion stand related to the early disciples' religion about him?

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age.*
G. B. Stevens, *The Theology of the New Testament.*
E. F. Scott, *The Apologetic of the New Testament.*
J. C. Granbery, *An Outline of New Testament Christology.*
E. D. Burton, J. M. P. Smith, G. B. Smith, *Biblical Ideas of Atonement.*
W. Wrede, *Paul.*
A. Meyer, *Jesus or Paul.*
H. Weinel, *St. Paul, the Man and his Work.*
W. Soltau, *The Birth of Jesus Christ.*
P. W. Schmiedel, "Resurrection and Ascension Narratives" in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. IV.
J. Orr, *The Virgin Birth of Christ.*
J. Orr, *The Resurrection of Jesus.*

McGiffert treats comprehensively the historical situation which called forth and cherished early Christian thinking, while Stevens expounds that thinking as embodied in the several New Testament books. Scott briefly surveys the main features of the Christian apologetic, pp. 37–71, dealing specifically with the early defense of Jesus' messiahship. Granbery presents with admirable clearness the content of New Testament christological speculation, indicating also the genetic relations of its various types. Burton-Smith-Smith treat the

general history of the biblical conception of atonement, but pp. 145–243 give the early Christian representation of Jesus' relation to this theme. Wrede emphasizes Paul's independence of Jesus, while Meyer finds a vital connection between the two, notwithstanding Paul's originality as a thinker. Weinel takes a wider survey, recognizing the importance of Paul's personality and activity as factors in his contribution to Christianity. Soltau protests against taking the infancy narratives as actual history, and Schmiedel, by a very rigid application of criticism, rejects the historicity of the resurrection stories. Orr, on the other hand, contends vigorously for the literal accuracy of the gospel representation of both these items.

Fra Angelico

MADONNA DELLA STELLA

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF BIBLE CLUBS USING THE OUTLINE COURSES

Some years ago an eminent teacher conceived the idea that the fundamental need of theological students in their approach to the Bible was a "survey course," covering the Old Testament literature in its chronological development in harmony with the developing history of the Hebrew people, to be followed by a similar survey of the New Testament history and literature.

In his own theological school these survey courses became the fundamental required courses. Just such a course reduced to its simplest form is needed by every Sunday-school teacher. "The Origin and Religious Teaching of the Old Testament Books" will provide the necessary foundation assisted by the helps for club leaders furnished in the BIBLICAL WORLD *club leader's exchange, under the direction of* GEORGIA LOUISE CHAMBERLIN, *secretary of the Reading and Library Department of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, The University of Chicago.*

THE SOCIAL AND ETHICAL TEACHINGS OF JESUS[1]

The third study in this series, which is the work assigned to December, is closely allied to that of the sixth month, which is entitled, "Brotherhood through Sonship." The emphasis in the current study is rather upon the teaching of Jesus concerning the nature of the kingdom of God and the advantages of membership in that kingdom, while the later study lays stress upon the *duties* or obligations of membership. A few moments spent in the investigation of the conception of the kingdom of God, as held by different members of the class, and an inquiry as to the source of this conception will probably develop the fact that few have reached conclusions directly from a study of the teaching of Jesus, and many from inheritance and environment. This will open the way for the question as to what basis there was in the antecedent history of the Hebrews for the idea of the kingdom which Jesus set forth. The leader has here an opportunity to give an interesting résumé of the growth of the messianic picture of the future of the Hebrew nation as

[1] Course-book from the American Institute of Sacred Literature, *The Social and Ethical Teachings of Jesus*, by Shailer Mathews. 50 cents, postage 4 cents.

presented by the prophets and to point out the limitations as to membership, and the characteristics and duties of members. It will be easy to recognize in the teachings of Jesus this same kingdom transformed into a kingdom whose basis was ethical, and membership in which was a matter of individual choice. The question as to whether in the thought of Jesus this kingdom was a developing fact or was to have its advent in the future is one which demands the most painstaking work of scholars, but the power of the fundamental principles of the kingdom in the regeneration of society may be shown to have been demonstrated throughout the Christian centuries.

A definite program may be as follows: 1. The kingdom of God. A definition supported by quotations or statements by six members of the class. 2. Membership in the kingdom — the old and the new view. Mic. 4:1–5; Matt. 21:33–46; 22:1–14. What old limitations to membership in the kingdom did Jesus thus break down and upon what did he base new limitations? 3. To what extent could the people of Jesus' day comprehend his conception of the kingdom? What was their attitude toward it? 4. Characteristic qualities of members of the kingdom as individuals. 5. Does the following definition of the kingdom find any organized means of expression in your community: "A reign of mutual service and help with an unselfish devotion to others as its impelling power"?

Discussion: Does the joy of membership in the kingdom exclude the joy of participation in the pleasures of the world? Monasticism resulted from an affirmative answer to the question. Was it the right answer?

The second meeting may be devoted to the consideration of the question of the relation of Jesus' conception of the kingdom to a doctrine of the future life.

A definite program may be: 1. The character of the conception of the future life held by different people in the community, a report of an investigation rather than a criticism. 2. The bearing of the principle of evolution upon a theory of the future life. 3. The capacity for growth in the kingdom of God and the method of such growth as illustrated by the parables of Jesus. 4. Arguments favoring the continuous growth and development of personality after the decay of the physical body.

Discussion: (1) If the kingdom of God were limited to this life, would the rewards of membership compensate for the self-denying life of members? or (2) Is the kingdom as conceived by Jesus a heavenly gift to men or a moral task to be achieved by them?

REFERENCE READING

Clarke, *The Ideal of Jesus*, pp. 63–79; Mathews, *The Gospel and the Modern Man*, pp. 78–86; Stalker, *The Christology of Jesus*, pp. 127–167; Mathews, *The Messianic Hope in the New Testament*, pp. 67–83; Hyde, *Jesus' Way*, pp. 33–38; Stevens, *The Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 58–70; Mathews, *The Social and Ethical Teachings of Jesus*, pp. 40–78; Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 173–248; Gilbert, *The Revelation of Jesus*, pp. 30–144; Hastings, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* articles on "Kingdom of God," "Messiah," "Eschatology," "Eternal Life." Shorter articles upon the first three topics are found in the Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible*, one-volume edition, and in more complete form in the four-volume edition.

THE ORIGIN AND RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS[2]

The subject of study for the month is the Books of Samuel. The material falls naturally into two parts: (1) the chapters concerned with the founding of the Kingdom and the reign of the first king, and (2) the reign of David.

Every chapter has its story of graphic interest, and it will be necessary though difficult to select for emphasis those events which are most significant from the point of view of the developing life and religion of the Hebrew people. Everything which contributes to our knowledge of the current thought concerning Jehovah and his relation to the nation or individuals in it will be valuable for our purpose. In giving historical and social background emphasis may be laid upon the place and the processes of worship, upon the significance of the Ark and its uses, upon the itinerating priest and minor customs alluded to in the story.

The growing self-consciousness of the nation crystallizing at last into a demand for political organization brings into prominence the heroic figure of Samuel, and of Saul with his intensely human limitations. While this is the most definitely historical writing which we have yet encountered, we must conclude that the author of these books is not recording history for its own sake, but like the writers of books previously studied is seeking to demonstrate his theory of the character of Jehovah and his dealings with the heroes of the books. This point should never be lost sight of by leader or class. Pragmatic history should be a familiar term to both.

The first program for the month may be: (1) Samuel the boy, the priest, the judge (biographical stories); (2) the contribution of Samuel to the political and the religious life of Israel; (3) the psychological

[2] Course-book from the American Institute of Sacred Literature, *The Origin and Religious Teaching of the Old Testament Books*, by Georgia Louise Chamberlin.

effect upon Saul of his estrangement from Samuel; (4) the contribution of Saul to the political progress of the Hebrew nation.

Discussion: What was the real basis of the struggle between Samuel and Saul, finally resulting in their estrangement?

The second meeting may be devoted to a study of David, but here also are two contrasting pictures, the young warrior, gallant, loyal, clear-sighted, and the old king in moral confusion and political disaster. More than ever is it necessary to the understanding of the central character that the current thought of his times should be considered, and the man measured by current standards rather than our own.

Questions of special interest in teacher training are: (1) Does the fact that the prophetic compiler of the Books of Samuel impartially includes in his record the faults as well as the virtues of his heroes an advantage or a disadvantage in their use for religious instruction? (2) How does this affect their credibility? (3) Does a credible story make a stronger ethical appeal than an incredible one?

A program may be: (1) The young shepherd, his relation to Samuel, and his early meetings with Saul; (2) the commander of Saul's armies, and his strained relations with the king; (3) reading of David's lament over Saul and Jonathan, II Sam. 1:19–27; (4) the young king, his capture of Jerusalem, the establishment of court and capital, and the instalment of the Ark of Jehovah; (5) reading of the story of the journey of the Ark to Jerusalem, II Sam. 6:1–20, and of the Psalm of entrance (Ps. 24); (6) brief history of the domestic and political troubles of David in his old age.

Discussion: Reading of selections and discussion of Browning's "Saul" as an interpretation of the characters of both David and Saul. This may profitably be assigned to a special meeting and the full hour given to it.

REFERENCE READING

Smith, *Old Testament History*, chaps. 7, 8; Wade, *Old Testament History*, chaps. 8, 9, 10; McFadyen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 84–93; Driver, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 172–85; Kent, *History of the Hebrews*, I, pp. 101–168; Chamberlin, *Hebrew Prophets*, chap. 2; Kennedy, "Samuel," *The New Century Bible;* Kirkpatrick, Samuel I, Samuel II, *Cambridge Bible for Schools;* The Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible*, one-volume edition contains articles on "Books of Samuel," "Samuel," "Saul," "David," "Ark," "Philistines," "Shiloh," "Eli." Longer articles are found in the four-volume edition. Maps from which a large outline map for class use can be constructed may be found in the dictionaries, and in Kent's *History of the Hebrews*, Wade's *Old Testament History*, and Chamberlin's *Hebrew Prophets*.

Current Opinion

Can Liberalism and Orthodoxy Live Together?—Not for years has public attention in Germany been turned toward the theological situation as since the decision of the *Spruchskollegium* in the case of Pastor Carl Jatho of Cologne. Jatho had been in the pastorate for some thirty years, and had in Cologne achieved remarkable success in interesting and drawing to the church men who had been alienated by the orthodox type of Lutheran preaching. One source of his success was apparently his frank avowal of a modernist position, with its mysticism, its doctrine of relativity, its disregard of any authority located in historical dogmas, and its almost pantheistic conception of the relation of God to the universe. The *Spruchskollegium*, consisting of thirteen men officially chosen to render judgment in any case of alleged departure from Lutheran standards, declared that "any further activity of Pastor Jatho within the established evangelical church . . . . is incompatible with the attitude toward the standards of the church taken by him in his teaching." This decision forms a Lutheran parallel to the papal denunciation of modernism. It means that there is to be no official tolerance of advanced liberal views in the established church of Prussia.

The decision has called forth an enormous literature of protest and defense. Four of the leading pastors of Prussia immediately issued a public statement proclaiming their intention to let conscience rule in their preaching rather than the official decrees of the established church. This proclamation quickly received the signatures of a hundred other pastors. Individuals and organizations which are concerned to preserve liberty of conscience have passionately protested against this action which officially proclaims that the only freedom possible in religious thinking must be found outside the church. It was pointed out that the retention of Pastor Jatho in Cologne could work no injustice to anyone, since there were plenty of churches to minister to the needs of those who are orthodox in their thinking, while Jatho alone could minister acceptably to the several hundreds whom orthodoxy had failed to attach to the church, but whom Jatho had led into active church life. On the other hand, many liberal theologians, among them Harnack, felt that the traditional standards of the state church must be observed if there is

to be any such thing as a state church at all. It was argued that so long as the state-church prescribes certain doctrinal conditions for its ministers, no pastor has a right to expect support from the state when he is positively violating the prescriptions which he covenanted to observe in his ordination vow. This distinctly political attitude was exhibited in sensational form at a church service in Charlottenburg where a company of soldiers were in attendance. When the pastor in his sermon undertook to defend Jatho, the officers rose and commanded the soldiers to leave the church as a sign of loyalty to the state and of protest against the implied criticism of the state involved in the defense of a man who had been officially adjudged unworthy to serve the established church.

Germany is thus brought face to face with the question which is more or less acute in all lands. Are those who are genuinely religious and who use the machinery of the church for the religious upbuilding of men, but who depart radically from the doctrinal expressions of Christianity in the traditional creeds, to be allowed to exercise their freedom within the church? Is it better for the progress of religion that there should be two distinct churches, one orthodox and one heterodox, each maintaining an exclusive attitude toward the other? Or is it better for one organization to make a place for diversity of theological opinion among its members and officers? The German mind has a horror of "sects" and is willing to pay a considerable price for the sake of maintaining one established church. But the tolerance which could recognize the equal rights of the Lutheran and the Reformed types of theology is not always ready to recognize the rights of modernism alongside of orthodoxy. Even so radical a theologian as Wernle has declared that the real issue which must be faced is whether the gospel is a definite historical quantum to be preserved as a sacred tradition, or whether it is essentially the activity of a free religious spirit, recognizing no obligations save to conscience in the sight of God. Wernle makes it plain that he stands on the side of the historical authority of a gospel to be transmitted from generation to generation rather than on the side of untrammeled freedom. At the same time both he and Harnack deplore the fact that Jatho's standing in the church has been made the subject of an official decision.

One of the most suggestive surveys of the situation has been made by Professor Sell in recent numbers of *Die christliche Welt*, the organ of moderate liberalism in Germany. He points out the fact that there are actually in existence in the church today two distinct types of religious thinking and experience. Modernism, as is abundantly evident from

the vigor of the movement in the Catholic church and from the widespread prevalence of liberalism in Protestantism, is here to stay, for a while, at least. The question of the hour is whether Christianity shall accept or reject the co-operation of men who, if they are to be honestly religious at all, must be so in terms of a world-view and a philosophy strikingly different from that which is expressed in the traditional creeds of Christendom. He earnestly desires that there should be no hostile division of the religious forces of our day; and he proposes a *modus vivendi* by which the two theologies may work together. The three conditions which he proposes are wôrth pondering by all who see clearly the situation which has been revealed by the examination of Jatho.

1. Orthodoxy must recognize the rights of the liberals to their own interpretation of Christianity. It must recognize this not only out of an irenic interest, but for the safe-guarding of its own rights. The orthodoxy of today departs in certain significant particulars from the orthodoxy expressed in the Lutheran creeds. Would it not seem like dangerous modernism to the Reformation leaders? Would Luther be satisfied with the theology of those who are unmolested by the official guardians of the standards of the church? Freedom of interpretation is absolutely necessary in the interests of honesty on both sides.

2. Orthodoxy appeals to the Bible as justification for its position. But, as a matter of fact, the liberals are actually using the Bible more honestly than are the conservatives. They are more truthfully setting forth the ideas which were held by the biblical men. They are discovering the *religion* of the Bible more accurately and are drawing from this an inspiration for service which is positive and constructive. The recognition of the legitimacy of this critical method of using the Bible is imperative. Not to the exclusion of the older method. That too has its devotees who derive from it real nourishment for the religious life. Both are needed in the life of today. Each can minister to souls who could not be reached by the other method.

3. The one supreme question is not as to the attitude which a man assumes toward the official creeds, not as to the method by which the Bible is interpreted, but as to the actual competency of one ideal or the other to create and to maintain positive religious life. The scriptural test of religious edification should be supreme. The modern church needs to learn the spirit of Paul who was willing to become all things to all men if thereby he might win some. The objective content of the Christianity presented to children is very different from the content which is presented to adults. The exposition of Christianity to a

congregation of simple-minded orthodox Christians is very different from its presentation to a company of critical scientists. Doctrines in and of themselves are impotent to save. Doctrines are rightly used only as they are instruments to awaken and nourish religious life. If it be a fact that modernism is actually bringing men to discipleship to Jesus and is inspiring them with a desire to serve humanity in his name, modernism rightfully belongs within the limits of the church of Christ. Only if it shall fail to create the Christian life in men should it be excluded.

Whether the Prussian church will look with favor on any such *modus vivendi* remains to be seen. Meantime all the world will be learning from this crisis in the church of Germany how best to deal with the issue which is peculiar to no nation of modern Christendom.

Raphael

THE MADONNA DELLA SEDIA

Work and Workers

An interesting demand for the teaching of Hebrew in the public schools has recently been presented to members of the Board of Education of Chicago, by groups of Jewish citizens.

The Bible Study Secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association have this year undertaken the organization of Bible classes for members of college and university faculties. It is hoped that such classes, conducted by representative professors, will result in quickening the religious interest of faculty men. The secretaries report the holding of more than fifty Bible institutes for students in different parts of the country during the past year.

The American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions has secured Professor Franz Cumont, Ph.D., as the lecturer for this season. He is the leading authority on Mithraism, on which he has published a monumental work presenting and interpreting the texts and monuments bearing on this remarkable mystic cult, which in the early centuries of our era was a serious rival to Christianity. A popular and briefer work of his on the subject has been translated into English under the title *The Mysteries of Mithra*. Professor Cumont's chief field of investigation, however, has been in the history of astrology and more particularly in the bearings of astrology on Greek, Roman, and oriental religions. He has collaborated in the cataloguing of the Greek astrological codices, and has made special journeys of exploration to Asia Minor in order to study the formation of religious movements in that district on the spot. His lectures in America deal with the general subject of "Astrology and Religion." They are being delivered at seven leading institutions. An unusual opportunity is therefore presented of hearing the leading authority on this subject give a popular exposition of the part played by astrology in the religions of the ancient Orient and of Greece and Rome. Professor Cumont was born in Alost in 1868. He studied at the universities of Bonn, Berlin, and Vienna in 1888–89 and at Athens, Rome, and Paris in 1890–92. He is a member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, a corresponding member of the French Academy and of the royal academies of Berlin, Munich, and Göttingen. Until his resignation in 1910, Professor Cumont was professor of the Greek language and literature at the University of Ghent. He is one of the Curators of the Royal Museum of Brussels.

Book Reviews

THE IDEAL OF JESUS

The latest book of Professor Clarke's[1] is an inspiring continuation of the fascinating and instructive development of theological thought which he has recorded in his theological writings and has put in such charming biographical form in his *Sixty Years with the Bible.* Professor Clarke began with the belief that we must look to the past for our information as to the nature of Christianity, that in the Bible we have formulated for all time the essential doctrines of the Christian faith and the program for a Christian life. Little by little he was forced to recognize the vitality of present religious life and to admit the claims of present experience to a hearing. Finally, in his book *The Use of the Scriptures in Theology* he reduced the canon of Christian thinking from Scripture as such to the Mind of Christ. That is definitely Christian which accords with Christ's view of truth. The authority of the past was definitely limited and was so spiritualized as to seem vague in content as contrasted with the older dogmatic systems. The present book reveals the tremendous positive power of an interpretation of Christianity which bases faith not on a fixed authority from the past but on the promise of the future. What Professor Clarke expounds is not the dogmatic system of Jesus, not even the ideas of Jesus, but his *ideal.* Christianity therefore is to be found not in any finished system but in the never-finished forward-reaching vision of the better life for mankind which may come through discipleship to Jesus. The essence of our religion is therefore located in the realm of the will rather than in that of the intellect.

This conception of the task leads him to emphasize the spiritual values rather than the technical problems of the New Testament records. Scholars who are conversant with the critical questions now so prominent will miss some of the queries which they have been accustomed to judge fundamental. There is no attempt to estimate accurately the historical status of the sources of our knowledge. There is almost no discrimination made between the different points of view of the different evangelists. It is true, the author confines himself to the Synoptics, recognizing that in the Fourth Gospel the utterances "have been consciously recast

[1] *The Ideal of Jesus.* By William Newton Clarke. New York: Scribner, 1911. 329 pages. $1.50 net.

by another mind" and therefore "cannot rightly be used for the purpose of setting forth the actual ideal of the living Jesus himself" (p. 13). That a similar recasting of the thought of Jesus may have taken place to some extent in the Synoptics is indeed admitted, but this consideration does not prevent the use of the synoptic sayings as bona fide utterances of Jesus. Professor Clarke feels that for the discovery of the *ideal* of Jesus such critical problems as those with which New Testament scholars are now engaged may be ignored. "There is no doubt whatever as to what he [Jesus] stood for." . . . . "There is no ambiguity about his position" (p. 8). This ignoring of minute critical questions enables the author to write with a refreshing freedom from technical detail; but it likewise leads him unconsciously to blend his own ideals with those of the New Testament so as to secure consistency. This shifting from one position to another is especially conspicuous in the crucial chapter on the "Kingdom of God." He is here undertaking to discover what Jesus meant by the kingdom of God. But instead of a critical examination of the historical connotation of the phrase, he proceeds to shift the inquiry to a totally different field. He asks instead the question, "What sort of a kingdom actually came as a consequence of Jesus' life and teaching?" This is, of course, an important question, and one which will have large value in determining the actual significance of the life of Jesus for us. But it is quite conceivable that the ideal of the kingdom which Jesus consciously held was not identical with the actual outcome of Christian history. The *non-sequitur* of this method is evident in a paragraph on p. 72, where, after summing up the three characteristics of the kingdom which *actually came*, he says, "Or, to put the three into one, the kingdom of God is the embodiment of the *ideal that Jesus held*." Another illustration of his short and easy way of disposing of difficulties is found in his discussion of the beatitudes. He does not think it essential to decide whether the Matthean or the Lukan form is nearer to the ideal of Jesus. "Either of the two sayings corresponds to the ideal of Jesus. They do not contradict each other in any vital way, and he may perfectly well have uttered them both" (p. 237).

The book therefore is in no sense a contribution to exact historical knowledge concerning Jesus. It ignores or evades the very questions which the historian must face. But the service which it renders to the cause of the religion of Jesus is far greater than could be furnished by any minute historical criticism. It is an appreciation of Jesus by one who has found in him complete satisfaction of the yearning of the soul for the highest revelation of human possibilities. It is precisely this quality

of personal devotion which gives to Professor Clarke's exposition that sensitiveness to the spiritual significance of the teachings of Jesus which makes them shine with rare luminousness. The reader feels that the book is the outcome of years of intimate communion with the marvelous figure portrayed in the gospels rather than of the more objectively correct but more spiritually barren method of literary criticism. The topics of the chapters reveal how truly Professor Clarke has reflected the emphasis of Jesus himself. Such themes as "The Kingdom of God," "Righteousness," "The Filial Life," "Deliverance from Evil," "Liberty" reveal how admirably the concrete interests of Jesus are apprehended. Each topic is discussed by citing and explaining typical incidents or teachings which illustrate the ideal underlying what Jesus did or said. One cannot read these chapters without feeling that there is nothing in all the world so glorious as to confess allegiance to the ideal of Jesus and no task so rich in spiritual returns as to be a messenger of this marvelous gospel. The book ought to prove an immense stimulus to pastors, and should show its influence in promoting a type of preaching which will appeal with searching power to men. When under the spell of this profound spiritual appreciation of Jesus, the reader is quite willing to forego critical defects. For after all, there is a convincingness about the ardent testimony of this modern disciple of Christ which preserves the spirit of the New Testament writings with rare fidelity.

The last three chapters of the book deal with "Christianity," "The Church," and "Society." Here the practical application of the study comes to expression. If we want to discover what Christianity is we have only to ask what sort of life would result from the ideal of Jesus. Instead of attempting to discover what beliefs Jesus made binding on the church, we ask what would be the practical outcome if men were to live under the sway of his ideal of filial trust in God and of the spirit of loving ministry to one another. Such a putting of the problem removes the last vestiges of dogmatism from Christian theology and ethics and opens the path for genuine progress in the forms of Christian thought and action while preserving the inspiration which springs from an enthusiastic adoration of Jesus as the supreme revelation of the way of life. As might be expected, the result is a humble and honest confession that the ways of men are far from being what Jesus would wish. A more potent revelation of the personal and social sins which we are complacently committing has seldom come from a Christian teacher. But it comes as the inevitable result of a deeper appreciation of the ideal of Jesus, and is accompanied by a message of hope for those who believe

that Jesus points the way to the better future toward which his disciples must strive. A Christianity such as that expounded in this book can never be antiquated. It marks the dawn of a new era of conquering faith in the name of Jesus.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHRIST AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION

Modern research has disclosed many and varied religious notions in the life of the ancient orient. Not only Jews but also Babylonians, Egyptians, Phrygians, Syrians, Greeks, Romans, in fact all peoples of that ancient world, were exceedingly religious. This was the world in which Jesus and the apostles lived, hence the query is often raised today, What influence had the surrounding religions upon the formation of Christianity? Recent extremists have said that this source supplied practically everything contained in Christianity, even the figure of Jesus himself. Others less extreme think Jesus as portrayed in the gospels has been freely decked out with borrowed ideas, though he was an actual person. So it happens that one of the liveliest phases of New Testament study today is the question of Christianity's connection, particularly in its thought of Jesus, with contemporary ethnic faiths.

But one who seeks in Valensin's lectures[1] help upon this problem will be frequently disappointed. The author is not mainly concerned to sift the traditional data regarding Jesus in order to discover their genetic relationships; his interest is in claiming that the doctrine of Christ's person is not affected by the modern comparative study of religions. The result is a strictly traditional christological apologetic bearing the *imprimatur* of the Roman church. Two premises for the discussion are laid down in the opening lecture. These are the fact of the supernatural Christ attested in the existence of the supernatural church, and the refusal to treat the history of Christianity from the evolutionary point of view. Having so defined the problem as to guarantee the conclusion desired, the author examines some phases of the Babylonian religion, of Buddhism, of the syncretistic Graeco-Roman faiths, and of Jewish Messianism. He concludes with a lecture on "Jesus Christ, the Way, the Truth, and the Life"—the culmination of God's revelation of himself to humanity.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[1] *Jésus-Christ et l'étude comparée des religions.* Conférences données aux facultés catholiques de Lyon. Par ALBERT VALENSIN. Paris: Gabalda et Cie., 1911. Pp. 232. Fr. 3.

THE PERSONALITY OF CHRIST

Dr. Sanday[1] has followed the publication of his *Christologies Ancient and Modern* by three lectures in which he attempts to make his meaning clearer. In particular, much adverse criticism had been evoked by the apparent primacy which Dr. Sanday had given to the subconscious as the realm in which the most intimate relations to God are established. In these lectures he disclaims any intention of having espoused radical psychological views, and attempts by the use of new metaphors to establish the facts of an "inner" self which is the unifying center of the more detailed and conscious experiences of the larger self. In this center of control is "deposited" all that comes from past personal and racial experience. A very real connection is thus established between any individual's life and the largely unknown and uncatalogued spiritual forces of the universe. Dr. Sanday believes that it is precisely in this deeper personal life that we gain direct contact with God. In Jesus the relationship of this inner self to God was so perfect that he was completely controlled by Deity, whereas other men are imperfectly controlled.

Dr. Sanday's exposition is significant of the interests which come to light in most modern christological discussions. Our study of the historical Jesus has made it impossible to think of him as an inexplicably unique being whose psychic life is unlike that of other men. In order to feel the power of that historical character, we must link Jesus closely to the universal human conditions of life. The consistent outcome of this would be the definite abandonment of the sacramentalism of the Greek theology, which appealed to the magical power of the non-human in Christ, and the definite recognition of a religious life which we receive through actually sharing the religious experience of Jesus as far as we are able. Dr. Sanday's exposition, however, seems to be so strongly controlled by the older desire to discover the exact *locus* of the divine "nature" of Jesus, that the religious significance of his position is doubtful. For if, as seems to be implied in the attempt to give an actual psychological analysis of the personal life of Jesus, the divine in him is to be found *in* his human experience, and not superimposed upon it, then the theologian will defeat our own purpose if he retains the Chalcedonian demand for a *locus* of the divine incommunicably *distinct from* his human experience. It is not easy to tell whether Dr. Sanday's appeal to the unconscious, "inner" self is correlated to this Chalcedonian demand or

[1] *Personality in Christ and in Ourselves.* By WILLIAM SANDAY. Oxford: University Press, 1911. Pp. 75. 30 cents.

not. At any rate it is significant that the religious *experience* of Jesus is felt to be so important. To emphasize this means to emphasize the moral and psychological elements in our own Christian life. To center attention on a non-human "nature" means logically an appeal to magical redemption through a sacramental "real presence." Which of the two is truer to the ideal of Jesus?

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RECENT LITERATURE ON THE PENTATEUCH

The Cambridge University Press has laid the general religious public under new obligations through the recent publication of three volumes on the Pentateuch.[1] These volumes belong to the popular series of commentaries known as the "Cambridge Bible" and bring it nearly to completion. The only volumes remaining unpublished are those on Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Ruth. It is characteristic of English caution that the volumes on the Pentateuch have been delayed in preparation until a general consensus of scholarly opinion had been attained regarding the nature and origin of the Pentateuch. The writers place themselves unreservedly on the side of historical criticism in refreshing contrast to the point of view of the older volumes in the series, on Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

Professor Driver's *Exodus* reveals the quality of workmanship so long familiar to students of this author's writings. His opinions regarding the date and origin of the materials in Exodus have been published already in his splendid Introduction, now in its eighth edition. His conclusions on some problems in the realm of history are of interest. He follows several scholars in supposing that not all of the Hebrews went down into Egypt and that the Ḫabiri of the Tel-el-Amarna letters are ancestors of the biblical Hebrews. This makes it possible to harmonize the fact of the presence of Israelites in Egypt with the account on the style of Merneptah in which the Pharaoh relates that he has smitten Israel in Palestine. Professor Driver also leans toward the acceptance of the once discredited hypothesis that the Aperiu of the Egyptian

[1] *An Introduction to the Pentateuch.* By A. T. Chapman. New York: Putnam, 1911. xx+339 pages. $1.00.

The Book of Exodus in the Revised Version, with Introduction and Notes. By S. R. Driver. New York: Putnam, 1911. lxxii+443 pages. $1.00.

The Book of Numbers in the Revised Version, with Introduction and Notes. By A. H. McNeile. New York: Putnam, 1911. xxvii+196 pages. 75 cents.

inscriptions are to be identified with the Hebrews. Merneptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Regarding the ten plagues, Professor Driver is content to say, "No doubt, Egypt was visited at the time by an unusual combination of natural calamities, which materially facilitated the Israelite exodus, ... it must be left an open question how far their miraculous character can be insisted upon." He still holds to the traditional location of Mt. Sinai in the south of the Sinaitic peninsula, notwithstanding the almost insuperable difficulties attached to this view.

As to the legislation contained in Exodus, Professor Driver grants that Moses may have planted the germ of the Covenant Code, and may well have originated most of the Decalogue in its primitive form. The second commandment prohibiting the making of images creates the most difficulty for our author and forces him to leave the question of the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue as a whole undecided.

This commentary places within the reach of everybody the most generally accepted results of recent study on the Book of Exodus. It presents little that is new and nothing that is startling, but constitutes a sober guide for the man of average culture to a book that can scarcely be understood aright without such competent aid.

Dr. McNeile, who has himself written a commentary on Exodus in the "Westminster" series, which deserves high praise, has furnished the Cambridge Bible with the first popular commentary in English on the Book of Numbers. It should be noted that both this and Driver's *Exodus* are based upon the Revised Version, instead of the Authorized as in the earlier volumes, and have the analysis of the sources indicated on the margin of the text by the use of the usual letters J, E, D, P, etc.

McNeile reduces the size and cost of his commentary by referring the reader to Chapman's *Introduction* for the discussion of several important topics belonging to the interpretation of Numbers. This enables him to handle the special Introduction to Numbers in small space and to give more room to the commentary proper.

The comments are clear and instructive and demonstrate the excellent judgment of Dr. McNeile. He convincingly proves the impossibility of doing away with the large numbers of the Hebrew census as Professor Petrie proposed to do by converting the Hebrew word for "thousand" into "household" or "family." He shows likewise the impracticable nature of Dr. Orr's treatment of the same problem. He differs from Professor Driver in that he locates Sinai somewhere in close proximity to Kadesh. He unhesitatingly declares the 48 Levitical cities to have

been existent only in the priestly writer's imagination. The work of Dr. McNeile is, on the whole, so good that we can but wish he might have given us more of it. Particularly appreciated would have been a fuller treatment of the various archaeological questions that arise in the study of Numbers. But these things may be found in Gray's more extended commentary. To him who has neither the time nor the learning requisite to appreciate the larger work, Dr. McNeile's book may be unreservedly commended.

The editor of the Cambridge Bible ran some risk in selecting for the task of writing the *Introduction to the Pentateuch* a man whose reputation as an Old Testament scholar had yet to be made. But he evidently knew his man. The writing of an Introduction for the general public, of course, does not call for the achievement of fresh results. It is rather a test of a writer's ability to organize his materials and to present results already achieved in a clear and persuasive manner. The mass of materials to be surveyed and their heterogeneous character make the task one to try a writer's mettle. Chapman's work, judged by this test, must be pronounced conspicuously successful.

It is interesting to note that while the title of the volume is *An Introduction to the Pentateuch*, the text continually speaks of the "Hexateuch" in accordance with the more common custom of scholars. Is the title the editor's sop to Cerberus? The scheme of the volume is devised with reference to the need of the man who knows practically nothing regarding the newer views of the Hexateuch. The first part is introductory and gives most attention to the history of the Pentateuchal criticism. The second and main part is devoted to the consideration and demonstration of three propositions. These are taken up in the following order: (1) The Hexateuch contains passages of later date than the times of Moses and Joshua. (2) The Hexateuch is a composite work in which four documents (at least) can be distinguished. (3) The laws contained in the Pentateuch belong to three separate codes which belong to different periods in the history of Israel. This part closes with a brief presentation of the testimony of the prophets as to the law. A series of ten appendices completes the book. The volume presents an abundance of information in an intelligible and interesting manner. The student who works through it with care will obtain a thorough understanding of the main features of the somewhat intricate process of development which gave rise to the Hexateuch. The writer wisely leaves the more complicated phases of the literary analysis for more exhaustive works. The point of view is essentially that of Wellhausen throughout.

At one point, it may be said, greater care might have been taken. The impression left by the treatment is that the Priestly legislation was wholly the product of the exilic and post-exilic age. This is doubtless true of the origin of the Priestly Code as a separate and distinct body of law. But it is safer to say with Dillmann, Driver, and others that the Priestly Code, late as it is, nevertheless contains much law which in original form goes back to relatively early times and reflects more primitive customs. The various local sanctuaries and the Temple had certainly each its own body of ritualistic customs, and in the formulation of the Priestly Code such material as this was freely used. The point of view and spirit of P are in large measure new, as are likewise many of the laws, but the substratum of law is much older than the Code itself.

It would be difficult to imagine a guide better adapted on the whole to induct a student into the mysteries of Hexateuchal criticism than Chapman's *Introduction*, and this with the two excellent commentaries of Driver and McNeile greatly enhances the value of the "Cambridge Bible" series and furnishes the student with a good equipment for the study of the Hexateuch.

J. M. Powis Smith

The University of Chicago

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

RAYMONT, T. The Use of the Bible in the Education of the Young. A Book for Teachers and Parents. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911. Pp. 254.

An excellent handbook for its purpose. The point of view regarding the Bible is intelligent and the conception of the nature and difficulty of the teacher's task is true to facts. It is the kind of book that every Sunday-school teacher needs, if he is to present a proper view of the Bible to his class.

MUNRO, J. I. The Samaritan Pentateuch and Modern Criticism. London: Nisbet & Co., 1911. Pp. 106. *3s. 6d.*

The point of view of this work is indicated by the following quotation: "There is woven into the structure of the language of the Pentateuch better evidence of its Mosaic authorship than if Moses had signed his name at the foot of every page. The writer has found that the third person singular pronoun, written *hv'a*, and used for masculine and feminine alike throughout the Pentateuch, gives the key, not only to the structure of the language there, but also to the structure of all other Semitic languages, and, most marvelous of all, to the proof of the identity of the original speech of both Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages." *Verbum sat sapienti.*

ARTICLES

BOYD, J. O. The Character and Claims of the Roman Catholic English Bible. *The Princeton Review*, October, 1911, pp. 567–605.

A very careful and informing piece of work upon the Douai version.

WHITLEY, W. T. The Character and History of the 1611 Version. *The Review and Expositor*, October, 1911, pp. 491–510.

A rapid survey of the events that led up to the origin of the King James Version, the way in which it originated, and its chief characteristics.

METCALF, J. C. The English Bible in English Literature. *Ibid.*, pp. 511–23.

A popular presentation of an interesting theme.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

HILL, WILLIAM BANCROFT. Introduction to the Life of Christ. New York: Scribner. 1911. Pp. viii+226. $1.25.

Professor Hill's attractive little volume is virtually an introduction to the gospels, from the point of view of their worth as sources for the life of Christ. It is intelligently and interestingly written and promises a real service in popularizing the historical view of the gospels.

HODGES, GEORGE. Everyman's Religion. New York: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. 297. $1.50.

Dean Hodges' well-known broad sympathies and attractive literary style serve to produce an exposition of the principal elements of Christianity certain to appeal to the layman uninterested in minute critical and theological problems. The value of this book is thus primarily homiletical; but it constantly induces an attitude of open-mindedness which ought to prepare the reader for a more profitable acquaintance with the spirit of modern theological scholarship.

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